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ISSN 0030 - 5324

Journal of the Oriental Institute

M.S. UNIVERSITY OF BARODA, VADODARA.

THE GOLDEN JUBILEE ISSUE

Edited by
M. L. Wadekar
OFFG. DIRECTOR,
ORIENTAL INSTITUTE

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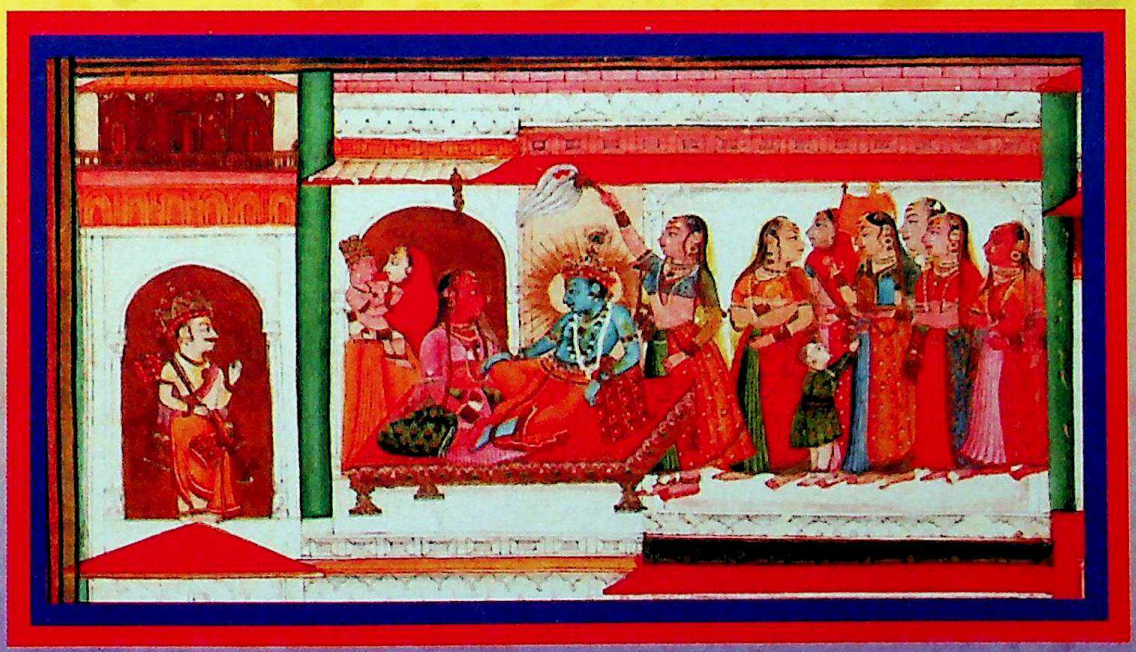

(Picture from Bhāgavatapurāṇa)

Vol. L] September 2000 - June 2001 [Nos. 1-4

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Journal
of the
Oriental Institute
M. S. University of Baroda

Vol. L, Nos. 1-4
September-June, 2000-2001

MANYU IN THE ṚGVEDA AND MAINYU IN THE AVESTA+

S. K. LAL*

In the Ṛgveda, the word *manyu* generally means 'anger, rage, wrath, fury', etc. To quote a few instances :

1. **ṚV. 7.86.6 ab :**

न स स्वो दक्षो॑ वरुण ध्रुतिः सा सुरा॑ मन्युर्विभीदको॒ अचित्तिः ।

"It is not our will, but the fate, mindlessness, wine, dice, or anger (*manyu*), that is the real cause of our downfall, O Varuṇa !"

The Ṛk- mentions that there are five things that induce a person to his ruin. *Manyu* is one of them.

2. **ṚV. 1.104. 2 cd :**

देवासो॑ मन्युं दासस्य श्रम्नन् ते न॒ आ व॑क्षन् सुवि॒ताय॒ वर्णम् ॥

"Let the gods eat up the fury (*manyu*) of the dāsa.....".

3. **ṚV. 2.24.2 ab :**

यो नन्त्वान्यनमन्योजसोतादर्दर्मन्युना॒ शम्बराणि॒ वि ।

"He (Brahmaṇaspati)..... with his rage (*manyunā*) crushed the holds of Śambara."

Journal of the Oriental Institute, Vol. 50, Nos. 1-4, Sept.-June 2000-2001 Issue, pp. 1-7.

+ References to the *Avesta* are from the *Gāthā Zarathuṣtrācyā āṇi yasna haptaṅhaiti* (with Marathi translation), Mehendale, M.A., *Vaidika Saṁśodhana Maṇḍal*, Pune, 1994.

* B-402, Mantri Kinara, Shanta Apte Road, (Off Bhau Patil Road) BOPODI, Pune-411020.

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4. RV. 1.25.2 :

मा नो॑ वधाय॑ हत्नवे॑ जिहीळा॒नस्य॑ रीरधः । मा हृ॑णा॒नस्य॑ म॒न्यवे॑ ॥

"O Varuṇa, give us not..... to your fierce anger (*manyave*), when you are displeased, as a prey to death."

5. RV. 6.17.9 ab :

अध॒ द्यौश्चि॑त् ते अप॒ सा नु वज्रा॑द् द्वि॒तानं॑मद् भि॒यसा॒ स्वस्य॑ म॒न्योः ।

"O Indra, even Dyaus (Heaven) bent backward before your *vajra* in fear of its anger (*manyoḥ*)."

It would be noticed that the five instances that are cited above use the term *manyu* in five different cases, viz., nominative, accusative, instrumental, dative, and ablative or genitive. There are many more instances of such usages of *manyu* in the *Rgveda.*

The substantive *manyu*, besides having the meaning *krodha* in its different nuances, also means 'mental energy, prayer, brilliance, zeal, deed, spirit, sacrifice', etc.
For instance :

1. RV. 1.139.2 ab :

यद्ध॒ त्यन्मि॑त्रावरुणावृ॒तादध्यादा॒दाये॒ अनृ॑तं॒ स्वेन॑ म॒न्युना॒ दक्ष॑स्य॒ स्वेन॑ म॒न्युना॑ ।

Sāyaṇa - *svena manyunā svakīyena tejasā.*
(With his own energy).

2. RV. 7.61.1 cd :

अ॒भि यो विश्वा॒ भुव॑नानि॒ चष्टे॒ स म॒न्युं मर्त्ये॑ष्वा चि॑केत ॥

"The sun who beholds all creatures also observes their deeds." (Cf. Sāyaṇa - *manyuṁ stotraṁ karma vā.*)

3. RV. 6.16.43 :

अग्ने॑ यु॒क्ष्वा हि ये तवाश्वा॑सो देव सा॒धवः॑ । अर॑ं वहन्ति म॒न्यवे॑ ॥

Sāyaṇa - *manyur yāgaḥ.* (Cf. also *Amara-koṣa* : 3.3.154 *manyur dainye kratau krudhi*).

4. RV. 8.48.8 cd :

अलर्ति॑ दक्ष॑ उ॒त म॒न्युरि॑न्दो मा नो॑ अ॒र्यो अ॑नुका॒मं परा॑ दाः ॥

Griffith - *manyu* 'spirit'.

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5. ṚV. 4.31.6 :

सं यत् ते इन्द्र मन्यवः सं चक्राणि दधन्विरे । अध त्वे अध सूर्ये ॥

Sāyaṇa - *manyavaḥ stutayaḥ.*

Thus the substantive *manyu* is found to have different meanings in different contexts in the *Ṛgveda.*

The term *manyu* is derived from the root *man* with the suffix *yuc* (*Uṇādi* 3.20). The root *man* has been read twice in the *Dhātupāṭha,* viz., *Divādi* (4th class), *Ātmanepada* (*manyate*) meaning *jñāne* 'to know, to mean', and *Tanādi* (8th class), *Ātmanepada* (*manute*) meaning *avabodhane* 'to think, believe, know, understand', etc. These and similar other meanings of the root *man* in different verbal forms are frequently met with in the *Ṛgveda.* Thus for instance :

To think	:	1.104.7; 4.20.5; 5.52.16; 56.2; 8.26.5; 93.5; 10.2.5; 85.3; 130.6.
To know/comprehend	:	1.127.1; 3.62.1; 4.1.16.
To consider/regard	:	1.178.5; 190.5; 6.19.12; 10.86.9.
To deem	:	2.11.2; 23.12; 3.32.4; 53.23; 4.18.5; 5.20.1; 39.2; 8.4.12; 7.34; 10.7.3; 21.4; 34.13.
To esteem/value	:	1.129.5; 4.17.4; 5.6.1; 6.30.2.
To fancy / imagine	:	10.146.4; 179.3.
To laud	:	4.2.3; 7.22.8; 10.130.6.
To remember	:	3.58.4; 5.4.10; 10.138.1.
To confess	:	4.17.1.
To be conscious of	:	4.29.2.
To trust	:	6.25.5.
To be proud of	:	7.98.4.
To seem	:	5.17.2.
To muse	:	1.159.2.
To mean	:	10.73.10.
To account for	:	10.107.5.
To conceive (an idea)	:	8.29.10.
To worship	:	1.33.9.
To scorn/neglect (with prefix *ati*)	:	1.170.3; 6.52.2; 10.91.2.

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The above data of different senses in which the root *man* has been used in the *Ṛgveda* brings out a very important fact, that is, the root *man* has never been used to mean 'anger, rage, fury' in any of its verbal forms in the *Ṛgveda*, though the substantive *manyu* meaning *krodha* and its many other nominal forms, have been derived from the same root *man* as shown above. In fact, S. Varma[1] points out that "no verb *man* with this meaning (i.e. anger, etc.) has been noticed in the Vedic language." We have seen earlier that the *Dhātupāṭha* does not have this sense of the root *man*. Even Yāska arbitrarily derives *manyu*, meaning 'anger', from the root *man* 'to be ablaze' (*manyur manyaterdīptikarmaṇaḥ krodhakarmaṇo vadhakarmaṇo vā*, Nir. 10.29), which is not found in the *Ṛgveda*. The root *man* has been traced to the Indo-Eur. **man* 'to think' and has its cognates in the Lithuanian: *manu* 'I mention', Gothic : *manna* 'man', Eng.: man, Sk. *manas* (with -s- extension of IE **man*, *menes*) and also Sk. *manuṣa*.[2]

How, then, the term *manyu* came to mean *krodha* 'anger', 'rage', etc. ? In this respect, it is significant to note that the Greek word *menos* meaning 'fury, rage' is also derived from the same IE root *man*.

It would thus appear that in the Vedic literature, the substantive *manyu* has one set of meaning, and the root *manyu* has a different set of meaning.

The word *manyu* has been elevated to a divinity in the *Ṛgveda*. Two hymns in the *Ṛgveda*, 10.83 and 10.84 deal exclusively with *manyu* as a god. In ṚV. 10.83.4, *Manyu* is regarded as self-existent (*svayaṁbhū*) who surveys all beings (*viśvacarṣaṇiḥ*). In ṚV 10.84.3, he is said to be *ekaja* 'sole born'. ṚV. 10.73.10 mentions that Indra was produced from Manyu. It is significant to note that god Manyu has been identified with prominent Vedic gods, such as, Indra, Varuṇa, and Jātavedas (Agni) (ṚV 10.83.2). The BṛD. 1.123 regards god Manyu as the god of 'middle sphere' (*madhyama sthāna*) and reads it along with Indra, Vāyu, Varuṇa, Mitra, etc. (Cf. also *Nighaṇṭu* 5.4).

Further, *Manyu* is closely connected with *tapas* in the *Ṛgveda*. He is prayed to protect people in association with *tapas* (*pāhi no manyo tapasā sajoṣā*, ṚV. 10.83.2 d); therefore, people worship him (*Ibid*, c - *manyuṁ viśa īḍate mānuṣīḥ*). He is mightier than the mighty. He is prayed to chase away enemies with *tapas* :

अभी॑हि मन्यो तवस॒स्तवी॑यान् तप॑सा यु॒जा वि ज॑हि॒ शत्रू॑न् । ṚV. 10.83.3ab.

In fact, BṛD. 2.53 mentions that it is the Primeval Heat (*agrajaṁ tapas*) that has created *Manyu* :

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1. The *Etymologies of Yāska*, s.v. *manyu*.
2. *Ibid*. s.v. *manas* and *manuṣya*.

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ससृजे मासि मास्येनम् अभिमत्य तपोऽग्रजम् ।
तेनैनं मन्युरित्याद मन्युरेव तु तापसः ॥

It is well known that *tapas* is the cosmic creative force (Cf. the *Nāsadīyasūkta* RV. 10.129.3 d: *tapasastanmahinā jayataikam,* and RV 10.190.1 : *ṛtaṁ ca satyaṁ cābhiddhāttapaso dhyajāyata/ tato rātryajayata tataḥ samudro arṇavaḥ*).

Turning to the *Avesta,* the counterpart of *Manyu* is *Mainyu* in the *Avesta.* The word *Mainyu* occurs singly as well as with the adjectives *spĕnta* (holy) and *aŋgra* (evil). As for intance :

mainyāush (Sk. *manyoḥ*)	:	*Gāthā Ahunavaiti :* *Yasna* 28.11; 31.9; 32.9. *Gāthā Ushtavaiti :* *Yasna* 44.11. *Gāthā Spĕnta Mainyu :* *Yasna* 47.2; 3; 4.
mainyū (Sk. *manyunā*)	:	*Gāthā Ahunavaiti :* *Yasna* 31.3; 21. *Gāthā Ushtavaiti :* *Yasna* 44.2.
mainyum (Sk. *manyum*)	:	*Gāthā Ushtavaiti :* *Yasna* 43.16.
mainyū (Sk. *manyū* du.)	:	*Gāthā Ushtavaiti :* *Yasna* 45.2.

In the *Avesta, Spĕnta Mainyu*[3] and *Aŋgra Mainyu* are regarded as two primeval Spirits. They form a pair and are always antagonistic to and in conflict with each other.

Spĕnta Mainyu is the holy Spirit of *Ahura Mazda* (*Yasna* 28.1). *Aŋgra Mainyu* is the evil Spirit (*Yasna* 43.15; 44.2). He is the demon god who is worshipped by Daevas (Sk. *Devāḥ,* not in good sense) (*Yasna* 30.6).[4]

Yasna 45.2 regards these two spirits as the world's first two spirits (*mainyū paāuruye,* Sk. *manyū pūrvyau* du.). They are at variance in their thoughts, deeds, commands,

---

3. Four *Yasnas* 47 - 50 constitute the *Gāthā Spĕnta Mainyu.*

4. The entire *Yasna* 32 (*Gāthā Ahunavaiti*) deals with *Daeva* worship. Vide also *Yasna* 34.5; 44.20; 45.10; 48.1; 49.4 etc.

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understandings and beliefs. They possess different souls and consciences. These primeval spirits combine in them two opposite qualities, good and bad (*Yasna* 30.3). Spĕnta Mainyu represents *gaem* (Sk. *jīvam*) and *Aŋgra Mainyu* brings *ajyāitī* (Sk. *ajīva*) (*Yasna* 30.4).

It is believed that in the beginning of the creation, both these primordial spirits chose different spheres : The one (*Spĕnta Mainyu*) chose the Divine Righteousness (*Asha*, Sk. *Ṛta*) (*Yasna* 30.5). But the other (*Aŋgra Mainyu*) chose evil in the world (*Ibid*). Between these two spirits, the demon - gods (*daevācina*, Sk. *devāścana*) did not make right choice (*Yasna* 30.6). The religious minded ones (*daena*) chose *Asha* (*Ṛta*) (*Yasna* 34.13; 44.9; 45.3; 46.6; 7; 11; 48.4; 49.4; etc.).

Sometimes, the opposite of *Spĕnta Mainyu* is *Aka Mainyu*. The *Daevas* are beguiled by *Aka Mainyu*. Therefore, there is evil in speech and deeds (*Yasna* 32.5). (Cf. also *Yasna* 30.6; and 32.3).

It is significant that *Spĕnta Mainyu* is reckoned among the companions of *Ahura Mazda* along with *Kshathra* (Sk. *Kṣatra*) 'Sovereign power', *Vohu Manaḥ* (Sk. *Vasu manas*) 'Good Mind', *Asha* (Sk. *Ṛta*) 'Righteous Order', *Ārmaiti* (Sk. *Aramati*) '*Piety*' (*Yasna* 28.3; 29.11; 30.7; 33.11; 43.6; 44.9; 48.11; 51.21), *Haurvatāt* (Sk. *Sarvatāti*) 'Welfare', *Amaratāta* (Sk. *Amṛtatva*) 'Immortality' (*Yasna* 31.6; 34.11; 44.17; 18; 45.5; 51.7), and *Srāoṣa* (*Sāraoṣa*) from Sk. root *śru* 'Obedient Will' (*Yasna* 44.16).

Although *Avestan Mainyu* is also derived from the same root *man* from which Sk. *Manyu* is derived, there is no trace of the meaning 'anger, wrath, fury', etc. in the *Avestan Mainyu*. The word *manyu* in *Avesta* is generally translated as 'spirit, spirit of god or of men'.

It appears, therefore, that the I-E root* *man* developed in two different streams, viz. 1. Sk. *man* 'to think, to know', *Avesta man* same meaning, Lithuanian *manu* 'I mention', Gothic *mann* 'man', German *meinen*, Eng. mean; and 2. Greek *menos* 'rage'. This meaning 'rage' of I-E *man* has survived in Sanskrit nominal forms of *manyu*, but lost in the verbal forms of the root *man* in Sanskrit. Hence, the twofold character of *Manyu*, as a divinity, is found in the *Ṛgveda*. A study of the two *Manyu hymns* in the *Ṛgveda* 10.83 and 84 points to this dual character of *Manyu*. ṚV. 10.83 depicts the divine form of *Manyu*. He is self-existent (*svayaṁbhū*, vs. 4); he is all-supporter (*viśvadhāyaḥ*, vs.6); he is the all-surpassing vigour (*abhibhūtyojāḥ*, vs.4); and he is a wise god (*pracetaḥ*, vs. 5). His association with *tapas* is also significant (vs. 2; 3). All these are the features of a benevolent god. Hence, C. Malamoud regards *Manyu* as the 'original tension' tending towards will/action.[5]

In contrast, the hymn ṚV. 10.84 refers mostly to war and enemies where *Manyu's*

5. *Renou Com. Vol.*, 1968, pp. 497-507.

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help is sought for. He, blazing like fire (*agniriva tviṣitaḥ*, vs. 2), is prayed to overcome enemies (*Ibid*). In this connection, the epithet *sahuri*, used for *Manyu* is very appropriate (vs. 5).[6]

Thus, *Manyu* in the *Ṛgveda* became a war-god (cp. his association with Indra), and *Mainyu* in the *Avesta* remained a benevolent spirit of *Ahura Mazda.* The two-fold meaning of the word *manyu* has survived in two diffrerent texts, *Ṛgveda* and *Avesta.*

6. The two *Ṛgvedic* hymns are also found in *Atharvaveda 4.31 and 32. Kauśikasūtra* 14.26-31 employs these two hymns in a ceremony to find which army will win.

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JOURNAL OF THE ORIENTAL INSTITUTE

THE M. S. UNIVERSITY OF BARODA
BARODA

Editor : Mukund Lalji Wadekar

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BRAHMAN : SATYAM, JÑĀNAM, ANANTAM OR *ĀNANDAM* ?*

VIJAY PANDYA**

At the very commencement of the second chapter of the *Taittirīya Upaniṣad,* i.e. the *Ānandavallī,* one of the most celebrated and profound passages of the Upaniṣadic lores occurs : *Satyam Jñānam Anantam Brahma. Brahma* is reality, knowledge and bliss. In the *Vedānta Śāstric* parlance, this line is also taken as the *lakṣaṇa* - definition of *Brahman.* To put the record straight, in the *Taittirīya Upaniṣad,* this line comes as an object of the root Veda. The whole passage runs thus :

Satyam jñānam anantam brahma

Yo veda nihitam guhāyām parame vyoman !

So aśnute sarvān kāmān saha

Brahmaṇā vipaściteti[1]

He who knows *Brahman* as *satyam*- reality, *jñānam*- knowledge, *anantam*- infinite in the cavity of the heart and the highest space attains all wishes.

Here, in the context of the T.U., according to Deussen, a renowned and devoted scholar of the Upaniṣads, in place of *anantam,* the word *ānandam* can be more indispensable than in other passages. So, according to Deussen, it is very probable that *anantam* is here a very old reading which has been sanctified as a hallowed mistake through tradition and original reading is *satyam, jñānam, ānandam.*[2] According to Deussen, for the first time in the Indian tradition, here emerge the three attributes of Brahman viz. *Sat, Cit, Ānanda*- existence, thought and bliss.[3] Deussen speculates that the mistake might have been

Journal of the Oriental Institute, Vol. 50, Nos. 1-4, Sept.-June 2000-2001 Issue, pp. 9-15.

* Paper presented at the 38th Session of the All India Oriental Conference, Jadavpur University, (Calcutta) during the 28 to 30 January '97.

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1. *Īśādidaśopaniṣadaḥ* with the commentary by *Śaṅkarācārya,* Motilal Banarasidass, Delhi, Reprint 1978, p.280. For references from the Upaniṣads, unless mentioned otherwise, this edition has been utilised.
2. Deussen Paul, *Sixty Upaniṣads of the Veda,* Part 1, pub. by Motilal Banarsidass, Delhi, p.232
3. *Ibid.*

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occasioned through the fact that one did not understand the construction, i.e. it being the object of the verb *veda,* coming in the second line and thought that the three epithets were in nominative, in which case, *ānandam* would be very unusual. So, the word *ānandam* was replaced with the word *anantam.* The emendation proposed by Deussen is very tempting and A.B. Keith has termed the emendation as probable.[4] One must make it clear here, that at this particular place in the T.U., the tradition is very much unanimous about having an attribute of *anantam.* There is no textual evidence to suggest that there was at any time, *ānandam* in place of *anantam* in the T.U. Text. At the same time, we must add here that the phrase *saccidānanda* is too frequent especially in the later Upaniṣadic literature to be ignored.

However, we are here directly concerned with the passage in the T.U.

As noted above, the passage from the T.U. has one more dimension of its being the definition of *Brahman.* So granting that, the tradition is very much unanimous in having the attribute of *anantam* instead of *ānandam,* we may consider the indispensability[5] to quote Deussen of the *ānandam* from the philosophic point of view, as contained in the tradition.

Now, we may seek to know the philosophic predilection of Śaṅkarācārya, one of the greatest philosophers, India has ever produced.

Śaṅkarācārya, as we know is the oldest commentator available on the *Upaniṣads* and the *Brahmasūtra* as well. It is very curious to note that the phrase *saccidānanda,* does not occur in the iiterature by Śaṅkarācārya.[6] From the circumstantial evidence, it appears that, Śaṅkarācārya considered *anantam* as having more philosophical significance than the epithet *ānandam* and hence, he did not lend any credence to the most frequently occurring phrase *saccidānanda,* in the later literature. It would not be illogical to argue that, Śaṅkarācārya considered *ānandam* epithet of *Brahman,* as qualifying it. This epithet *ānandam* goes against the tenor of his philosophical strain. He does not seem to consider the epithet *ānandam* as supportive in his relentless, uncompromising pursuit of the absolute monism.

This, our surmise gets further corroborated from the *Śāṅkarabhāṣya* on the *Brahmasūtra* i.e. *ānandamayādhikaraṇam.*

To explain, as we know, Śaṅkarācārya has offered two interpretations of the *ānandamayādhikaraṇam.* The first interpretation seeks to establish the *ānandamaya* or

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4. Keith A.B., *Religion and Philosophy of the Upaniṣads,* Vol.2, p.519.
5. See the quotation cited in the reference no.2
6. Deussen Paul, *Fundamental Philosophy of Upaniṣads,* Translation by Geden A.S., Kanti Publications, Delhi, 1969, p.126

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ānanda as Brahman, while the second interpretation goes beyond *ānandamaya* which is an *amukhya ātman* and purports to establish the unqualified *Brahman* as the basis of all things. (*Brahma puccham pratiṣṭhā*) In these two interpretations, though Śaṅkarācārya explicitly does not display any preference, it is evident that the second interpretation is closer to his heart. The first interpretation is offered in deference to the tradition, which has handed down it. The second interpretation runs parallel to the commentary on the relevant portion of the T.U. by Śaṅkarācārya.[7] This also proves that Śaṅkarācārya would prefer *anantam* to *ānanda*. So, it would not be wide off the mark to say that, Śaṅkarācārya is averse to *ānanda* and this attribute according to him is not conducive in his relentless uncompromising search for the absolute monism.

We may philosophically agree with Śaṅkarācārya that *ānanda* is less philosphic having a content which is likely to have been polluted by the mundane, dualistic matters.

This point takes us further to examine the word *ānanda* contextually in the *Upaniṣads*. *Ānanda* is bliss no doubt. But, the word has certain connotations which are perhaps not desirable from the pure philosophic point of view, ultimately in the search for unqualified, pure, unalloyed *Brahman*.

In the Upaniṣads, the word *ānanda*, among other meanings has sense of sexual pleasure, and it has a pejorative sense. In the *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad* (2-4-11) it has been stated :

It is-as of all waters the uniting point is the sea, so of all touches the uniting point is the skin, so of all tastes the uniting point is the tongue, of all smells the uniting point is the nostrils, so of all forms the uniting point is eyes, so of all sounds the uniting point is the ear, so of all intentions (*saṁkalpa*) the uniting point is the mind (*manas*), so of all knowledge the uniting point is the heart, so of all acts (*karma*) the uniting point is the hands, so of all pleasures (*ānanda*) the uniting point is the generative organ (*evam sarveṣāmānandānām upastha ekāyanam*) so of all evacuations the uniting point is the anus, so of all journeys the uniting point is the feet, so of all Vedas the uniting point is speech.[8,9]

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7. See this writer's article 'Ānandamīmāṁsā of the Taittirīya Upaniṣad' and 'Śāṅkarabhāṣyas', *Samāmnāya'*, 1994 pub. by Veda Vijñāna Academy, Ahmedabad.
8. Translation by R.E. Hume, *The Thirteen Principal Upaniṣads*, Oxford University Press, 1995, pp.386-87
9. स यथा सर्वासामपां समुद्र एकायनम्, एवं सर्वेषां स्पर्शानां त्वगेकायनम्, एवं सर्वेषां गन्धानां नासिके एकायनम्, एवं सर्वेषां रसानां जिह्वैकायनम्, एवं सर्वेषां रूपाणां चक्षुरेकायनम्, एवं सर्वेषां शब्दानां श्रोत्रमेकायनम्, एवं सर्वेषां सङ्कल्पानां मन एकायनम्, एवं सर्वासां विद्यानां हृदयमेकायनम्, एवं सर्वेषां कर्मणां हस्तावेकायनम्, एवं सर्वेषामानन्दानामुपस्थ एकायनम्, एवं सर्वेषां विसर्गाणां पायुरेकायनम्, एवं सर्वेषामध्वनां पादावेकायनम्, एवं सर्वेषां वेदानां वागेकायनम् (B.U.2-4-11)

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Similarly in the *Praśnopaniṣad* a question is asked : In whom, pray, are all things established ? (*Kasminnu sarve sampratiṣṭhitā bhavantīti*)[10] And in the answer to this question are supplied couples having the cause-effect relationships. As birds resort to a tree for a resting place, even so, o friend (Pippalāda addressing to Gārgya, a questioner) it is to the Supreme Soul (*ātman*) that everything here resorts.[11]

Earth and the elements of earth, water and the elements of water, heat (*tejas*) and the elements of heat, wind and the elements of wind, space and the elements of space, sight and what can be seen, hearing and what can be heard, smell and what can be smelled, taste and what can be tasted, the skin and what can be touched, speech and what can be spoken, the hands and what can be taken, the organ and what can be enjoyed (*upasthaścānandayitavyañca*), the anus and what can be excreted, the feet and what can be walked, mind (*manas*) and what can be perceived, intellect (*buddhi*) and what can be conceived, egoism (*ahaṁkāra*) and what can be thought, brilliance (*tejas*) and what can be illumined, life breath (*prāṇa*) and what can be supported.[12,13]

Similarly in the *Kauṣītaki Upaniṣad, ānanda* has been associated with *upastha*- a generative organ. The passege runs thus :

He says to him 'wherewith do you acquire (*ap*) my masculine names ?'

'With the vital breath (*prāṇa*, masc.)' he should answer !

'Wherewith feminine names ?'

'With speech. (*vāc*, fem)'

'Wherewith neuter ones ?'

'With the mind. (*manas*, neut.)'

'Wherewith odours ?'

'With the breath. (*prāṇa*)'

'Wherewith forms ?'

'With the eye.'

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10. *Praśnopaniṣad* 4.1
11. Hume, R.E., *Op.cit.*
12. *Ibid.*
13. स यथा सोम्य वयांसि वासोवृक्षं सम्प्रतिष्ठन्ते । एवं ह वै तत्सर्वं पर आत्मनि सम्प्रतिष्ठते । पृथ्वी च पृथिवीमात्रा चापश्चापोमात्रा च तेजश्च तेजोमात्रा च वायुश्च वायुमात्रा चाकाशश्चाकाशमात्रा च चक्षुश्च द्रष्टव्यं च श्रोत्रं च श्रोतव्यं च घ्राणं च घ्रातव्यं च रसश्च रसयितव्यं च त्वक् च स्पर्शयितव्यं च वाक् च वक्तव्यं च हस्तौ चादातव्यं चोपस्थश्चानन्दयितव्यं च पायुश्च विसर्जितव्यं च पादौ च गन्तव्यं च मनश्च मन्तव्यं च बुद्धिश्च बोद्धव्यं चाहङ्कारश्चाहङ्कर्तव्यं च चित्तं च चेतयितव्यं च तेजश्च विद्योतयितव्यं च प्राणश्च विधारयितव्यं च । *Praśnopaniṣad* 4.7-8

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'Wherewith sounds ?'

'With the ear'

'Wherewith the flavours of food ?'

'With the tongue'

'Wherewith actions ?'

'With the two hands'

'Wherewith pleasure and pain ?'

'With the body'

'Wherewith bliss, delight and procreation ?'

'With the generative organ'

(*Kena ānandam ratim prajātimiti upastheneti*)

'Wherewith goings ?'

'With the two feet'

'Wherewith thoughts, what is understood and desires ?'

'With intelligence (*prajñā*)' he should say.[14,15]

Similarly in the same Upaniṣad further, father says: 'My bliss, delight and procreation in you I would place.' The son replies : 'your bliss, delight and procreation in me I take.'

(*ānandam ratim prajātim te mayi dadha iti putraḥ*) (*Kau.U.2-15*)

It is noteworthy that in the *Kau.U.* these three words are being repeatedly used, viz. *ānanda, rati,* and *prajāti.*[16] *Prajāti* may be connected with *jan* to generate, procreate. *Rati* may be dealing more with the aspect of sexual pleasure from *ram* verb, and *ānanda* may mean a general over-all sexual gratification or satisfaction.[17]

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14. Hume, R.E., *op.cit.,* pp.306-307

15. तमाह केन मे पौंस्यानि नामान्याप्नोतीति प्राणेनेति ब्रूयात् । केन स्त्रीनामानीति वाचेति केन नपुंसकानीति मनसेति केन गन्धानिति प्राणेनेत्येव ब्रूयात् । केन रूपाणीति चक्षुषेति केन शब्दानिति श्रोत्रेणेति केनान्नरसानिति जिह्वयेति केन कर्माणीति हस्ताभ्यामिति केन सुखदुःखेति शरीरेणेति केनानन्दं रतिं प्रजातिमित्युपस्थेनेति, केनेत्या इति पादाभ्यामिति केन धियो विज्ञातव्यं कामानिति प्रज्ञयेति ब्रूयात्तमाह । (*Kauṣītaki Upaniṣad,* 1-6, Pt. Jagadish Shastri (ed.) *Upaniṣatsaṁgraha,* Motilal Banarasidas, Delhi 1970)

16. Further in the *Kau.U* उपस्थ एवास्या एकमङ्गदूहळ तस्यानन्दो रतिः प्रजातिः परस्तात् प्रतिविहिता भूतमात्रा 13-5. Again in 3-7 न हि प्रज्ञापेत उपस्थ आनन्दं रतिं प्रजातिं कांचन प्रज्ञापयेद् अन्यत्र मे मनोऽभूद् नाहं एतमानन्दं न रतिं प्रजातिं, प्राज्ञासिषमिति ।

17. G.Glspert Sauch S. J., *Bliss in the Upaniṣads,* pub. Oriental Publishers and Distributors, New Delhi, 1977, p.134.

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In the B.U., *ānanda,* as if, has been defined and it is not difficult to see that the context is associated with sexual pleasure. Yājñvalkya says *Manasā* vai *samrāṭ striyamabhihāryate tasyām pratirūpaḥ putro jāyate sa ānandaḥ* (B.U.4-1-6) Verily, your Majesty, by the mind one betakes himself to a woman. A son like himself is born of her. He is bliss.[18]

In the T.U. context also, the word *prajāti* along with *ānanda* occurs and there is a word *amṛta* also alongwith *prajātirmṛtamānanda ityupasthe* (T.U. 3-10-3).

It can be seen that all these words *prajāti, amṛta* and *ānanda* are connected with *upastham* a generative organ.

In the Kau.U. it appears that a process of sexual intercourse is purported to be described. *Prajñayā Upastham samāruhya upasthenānandam ratim prajātimāpnoti* (Kau.U.3-6) with intelligence having mounted on the generative organ, with the generative organ, one obtains bliss, delight and procreation.

So far, we have discussed that the word *ānanda* is explicitly connected with the generative organ and has sexual connotations.

And there are some places in the Upaniṣads where no direct connection can be perceived, but, at the same time, there are sexual allusions. The celebrated passage from the B.U. gives an illustration of the sexual congruence in 4-3-21. *Tadyathā priyayā striyā saṁpariṣvakto na bāhyam kiñcana veda nāntaram.* As a man in the embrace of a beloved woman knows nothing, a within or without, *Sa vā eṣa evam paśyannevam manvāna evam vijānannātmaratirātmakrīḍa, ātmamithuna, ātmānandaḥ* (C.U.7.25-2) verily who sees thus, who thinks thus, who understands thus, who has pleasure in the soul, who has delight in the soul, who has intercourse with the soul, who has bliss in the soul. It can be seen that, this passage endeavours to define *ānanda* almost in erotic terms.

Similarly in the *Muṇḍakopaniṣad,* same words are employed in the following context viz.

Prāṇo hyeṣa yaḥ sarvabhūtairvibhāti
Vijānan vidvān bhavate nātivādī
ātmakrīḍa ātmaratiḥ kriyāvān
eṣa brahmavidām variṣṭhaḥ (M.U.3-1-4)

Truly it is Life that shines forth in all things. Understanding this, one becomes a knower. There is no superior speaker. Having delight in the soul (*Ātman*), having pleasure in the soul, doing rites, such a one is the best of Brahma-knowers.

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18. Hume, R.E., *op.cit.* p.130.

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From this discussion, it is certain that, the word *ānanda,* originally used to have an erotic connotation and hence, might have been considered profane by the philosophers like Śaṅkarācārya. Of course, it cannot be gainsaid that, in the Upaniṣads, the word *ānanda* has been employed in the non-sexual and unerotic contexts also. But it did not remain a pure, unalloyed, non-contextualised and shorn of all undesirable associations. And hence, the word was not suitable to Śaṅkarācārya's steadfast and unflinching pursuit of the absolute monism. Śaṅkarācārya did not want to dilute his rigorous, absolute monism and so, he shunned *saccidānanda* along with *ānanda.* In contrast to the word *ānanda,* the word *ananta* is devoid of all such dualistic contexts. The word *ananta* would immediately put one on a flight of infinitude which was the goal of the Upaniṣadic seers.

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લેખકોને :

૧. પાનની એક જ બાજુએ, ટાઈપ અથવા કૉમ્પ્યુટરમાં તૈયાર કરેલા અને એ શક્ય ન હોય તો શાહીથી સુવાચ્ય અક્ષરે લખેલા લેખો મોકલવા. ટાઈપ/કૉમ્પ્યુટર નકલમાં ભૂલોને સુધાર્યા પછી જ લેખ મોકલવો. ગૂજરાત વિદ્યાપીઠના જોડણીકોશ પ્રમાણે જોડણી રાખવી આવશ્યક છે. લેખની મૂળ પ્રત જ મોકલવી. લેખની કાર્બન નકલ મોકલો ત્યારે તે અંગેનું સ્પષ્ટ કારણ જણાવવું.

૨. લેખમાં અવતરણો, અન્ય વિદ્વાનોનાં મંતવ્યો ટાંકવામાં આવે તો તે અંગેનો સંદર્ભ પૂરેપૂરી વિગત સાથે આપવો અનિવાર્ય છે. પાદટીપમાં એ સંદર્ભની વિગત આપતાં લેખક અથવા સંપાદક/સંશોધક (અટક પહેલી), ગ્રંથ, પ્રકાશક, પ્રકાશનવર્ષ, આવૃત્તિ, પૃષ્ઠ એ ક્રમ જાળવવો જરૂરી છે.

૩. 'સ્વાધ્યાય'માં છપાયેલ સર્વ લેખોનો કૉપીરાઈટ મહારાજા સયાજીરાવ યુનિવર્સિટી, વડોદરા હસ્તક છે. લેખકે અથવા અન્ય કોઈએ લેખમાંનો કોઈ અંશ લેખિત પરવાનગી વગર પુનર્મુદ્રિત કરવો નહીં.

૪. સંક્ષેપશબ્દો પ્રયોજતા પહેલાં એ શબ્દો અન્ય સ્થાને પૂરેપૂરા પ્રયોજેલા હોવા જોઈએ.

૫. પાદટીપોનો ક્રમ સળંગ રાખી જે તે પૃષ્ઠ ઉપર તે તે પાદટીપોનો નિર્દેશ જરૂરી છે.

સ્વાધ્યાય

સ્વાધ્યાય અને સંશોધનનું ત્રૈમાસિક

સંપાદક : મુકુંદ લાલજી વાડેકર

વર્ષમાં ચાર અંક બહાર પડે છે - વસંતપંચમી અંક, અક્ષયતૃતીયા અંક, જન્માષ્ટમી અંક, અને દીપોત્સવી અંક

લવાજમ :

- ભારતમાં ..... રૂા. ૪૦.૦૦ (ટપાલ ખર્ચ સાથે)
- પરદેશમાં ..... યુનાઈટેડ સ્ટેટ્સ ઑફ અમેરિકા માટે ..... ૧૨.૦૦ ડૉલર (ટપાલ ખર્ચ સાથે)
- યુરોપ અને અન્ય દેશો માટે ..... પૌં. ૭.૦૦ (ટપાલ ખર્ચ સાથે)

આખા વર્ષના ગ્રાહકો લવાજમના વર્ષની શરૂઆતથી જ નોંધવામાં આવે છે. લવાજમ અગાઉથી સ્વીકારવામાં આવે છે. લવાજમ મોકલતી વખતે કયા ગ્રંથ માટે લવાજમ મોકલ્યું છે તે સ્પષ્ટ જણાવવું. લવાજમ વર્ષ જાન્યુઆરીથી ડિસેમ્બર સુધીનું ગણાય છે, જે આ સરનામે મોકલવું.

નિયામકશ્રી, પ્રાચ્યવિદ્યામંદિર,
મહારાજા સયાજીરાવ વિશ્વવિદ્યાલય,
રાજમહેલ દરવાજા પાસે, રાજમહેલ રોડ,
વડોદરા - ૩૯૦ ૦૦૧.

જાહેરાતો :

આ ત્રૈમાસિકમાં જાહેરાત આપવા માટે લખો

સંપાદક, 'સ્વાધ્યાય',
પ્રાચ્યવિદ્યામંદિર, મ.સ. વિશ્વવિદ્યાલય,
રાજમહેલ દરવાજા પાસે, રાજમહેલ રોડ, વડોદરા - ૩૯૦ ૦૦૧.

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NON-TRADITIONAL INTERPRETATION OF 'ANARTHAKĀ HI MANTRĀḤ'

INDRAVADAN B. RAVAL*

This statement is famous as Kautsa's view quoted by Yāska in this *Nirukta* (1.5.14). Traditional understanding regarding this line is that the '*mantras* (of the Veda) are meaningless or void of sense.' An attempt is made here to present non-traditional interpretation of this line.

Yāska (i.e. Y henceforth) while stating the objective of *Nirukta* (in 1.5) writes : '*athāpīdamantareṇa mantreṣvarthapratyayo na vidyate*', which means - 'without studying *Nirukta,* the meaning of the *mantras* can not be understood'. Y strengthens his stand by giving first the opposite view, expressed by the above line, and then its refutation.

Looking to the difficulties in preserving the *mantras,* and considering *mantra's* characteristics - other than the meaning - this line prompts us to go by some different intepretation, in different light.

Y takes the word '*anarthaka*' of the line to mean 'meaningless or senseless'. Indicative meaning of this word is 'useless' or 'futile'.

If this is the sole reality, it raises questions as to : Are the *mantras* reduced to mere 'prattling' or senseless sounds ? Does Kautsa (i.e. K henceforth), by calling *mantras* meaningless, oppose or disrespect the authority of Veda, *'Veda-prāmāṇya'* ? Does he belong to atheistic ideology as Cārvāka ? What is his whole point of view about *mantras* ? No answer to any such questions is clearly available with Y. So, it is necessary to examine independently the background of K.

Kālidāsa has popularised K through *Raghu-Kautsa* episode in *Raghuvaṁśam* (Canto 5). There K is described as a pupil of Varatantu, and well-versed in 14 lores like Veda etc. Perhaps on this basis, Pt. Bhagavaddatta has noted[1] that "K by making this statement, does not bank upon challenging the '*Veda-prāmāṇya*'." This makes it clear that K is not siding with Cārvāka or opposed to Veda.

Journal of the Oriental Institute, Vol. 50, Nos. 1-4, Sept.-June 2000-2001 Issue, pp. 17-22.

* 7-Shikshak Colony, Veraval - 362 266.

1. *Niruktaśāstra,* 1.15, p.48.

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Now, let us understand K's attitude towards *Veda-mantras*. Here we have to comprehend the circumstances which prevailed soon after the revealation period of *mantras*.

The Ṛṣis visualised *mantras*, which being huge in number, were classified later on into *'saṁhitās'*. (There are 10580 *mantras* in the *Ṛgveda* only ! Those in other Vedas are in addition !) These *mantras* enjoyed the glory of being the most 'precious treasure' (Manu has echoed this in *'bhūtam bhavyam bhaviṣyacca sarvam vedāt prasiddhyati'*). And a conviction was confirmed that it should be protected at any cost, though virtually it was a highly difficult task. In that age of having (almsot) no writing material, everything had to be kept in memory only. The Ṛṣis have given the example of great endeavour against that challenging position. They orally taught *mantras* to their pupils who learnt them by heart. Later on, pupils becoming teachers did the same to their pupils. Since the whole teaching depended upon hearing practice, the Veda is called '*anuśrava*'. Thanks to that oral tradition going down from generation to generation of the teacher & the taught, thousands of *mantras* could be kept intact at the tip of the tongue without mistake of a letter or accent ! And that too for thousands of years ! (It was a great wonder of ancient India with no parallel in human history !). This could happen because under the Vedic '*varṇa*-system', it was ordained as prime duty of the "brāhmaṇa' to learn & teach Veda. Patañjali has rightly said, *'brāhmaṇena niṣkāraṇo dharmaḥ ṣaḍaṅgo vedo'dhyeyo jñeyaśca*". The Brahmins performed their duty with utmost discipline, dedication and perseverance. That is nicely reflected in a remark by Mahābhāṣyakāra, viz. '*udāttasya sthāne anudāttam brūte, khaṇḍikopādhyāyaḥ tasmai śiṣyāya capeṭikām dadāti*'. The Guru though loved the *śiṣya* as son, used to slap also for even a little lethargy in pronouncing *'anudātta'* in place of *'udātta'* ! (were they both not blessed in comparison with unblessed academic atmosphere of to-day ?) Under the fascination of this blessedness, a western scholar has made a proud proclamation that 'in case all editions of the Vedas are lost, they can be regained through the tongue of Brāhmins !'[2]

In creating such wonder, certain means & devices had, of course, played their role. In this regard, some specific situations also need attention.

It is natural that the langauge of Vedic manifestation and of day-to-day speaking practice of Ṛṣis must have been the same. So the speakers must have been fully and easily conversant with the meaning also. Therefore whole care & effort must have been centred round the faultless memorisation of *mantras*.

But, in course of time, spoken language underwent changes resulting into some difference between the language of Veda and that of everyday practice. Consequently, then,

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2. Quoted by Swami Vidyananda Saraswati in his '*Bhūmikā Bhāskara*' (Hindi), Part-I, p.24.

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the responsibility of learning the meaning also must have been added to that of memorising *mantras.*

Along with that, the change of time and circumstances, and feebling capacity of students to grasp and memorise the *mantra*- bulk (Y himself has stated 3 such degrading stages- *vide,* '*sākṣātkṛtadharmāṇaḥ ṛṣayo babhūvuḥ....*'), a danger was posed that in pursuing the meaning, significance or mystery of *mantras* doggedly, lest the original treasure be eroded from memory. That could have led to subordinating the meaning-aspect for the time being. That should not amount to ignoring the meaning. Y calling the meaning flower & fruit of the speech ('*vācaḥ puṣpaphalam*') is ever respected. But the problem was to protect the root first, without which no flower or fruit is possible - '*naṣṭe mūle naiva puṣpam na ca phalam*'. So, first of all, whole attention had to be devoted to learning *mantras* by heart with proper accents. For that purpose, *Śikṣā* and *Kalpa Vedāṅgas* were of much help.

Śikṣā having its dealing with the basic necessity i.e. 'articulation' of *mantras* in their pure & perfect form, is allegorised as 'nose' of *Veda-Puruṣa* : '*Śikṣā ghrāṇam tu vedasya*'.

Different methods of reading the *mantras,* such as '*pada, krama, ghana*' etc. (which are called *'vikṛtayaḥ*') also were the result of tremendous efforts for *mantra*- protection.

Kalpa-Vedāṅga is an indirect attempt for *mantra*- protection. *Kalpa* is defined as - "*Kalpyate samarthyate yāgaprayogo'tra*". *Kalpa* is directly related to *yajña.* Howsoever small or minor be the rite of any *yajña,* it is related to some *mantra* or the other, which is known as '*viniyoga*'. This way *yajña* also helps *mantra*- protection. *Gītā* says - '*devān bhāvayatānena*'. Deities are related to *yajña,* and *yajña* is related to *mantra;* not only that, but, duties are also related to *mantra.* Thus deities & *yajña* both have *mantra*- linkage. It is all *mantra* and *mantra !* The reason behind *Gītā* calling *"yajñānām japayajño'smi",* may be the security of *mantra* also through glorifying *Japa.*

When *yajña* developed into an institution, its utility also increased. During that course, various types of *yajña* came into practice, especially as 'means to achieve various desired objects, the fruits' ! In such *yajñas* the prescribed rites performed with prescribed chanting of *mantra,* even with stark ignorance of its meaning, came to be considered enough for the 'purpose' ! In such process the meaning - aspect of *mantra* was neglected ! Pt. Bhagavaddatta aptly observes - "Kautsa calls *mantras* as '*anarthaka*' in respect of the fruit or desired object of *yajña*".[3]

Acharya A.B. Dhruva further elucidates : "Some people were so fascinated by chanting of the Veda that they forgot the significance of the words and began to believe that Vedic *mantras* are not for conveying meaning, but, for systematic chanting in *yajña.* Yāska

3. *Niruktaśāstra,* 1.15, p.48

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has quoted this view as held by Ācārya Kautsa. ---- But western and local scholars understand that the sense behind K's statement is not that vedic words are meaningless. K only intends that vedic *mantras* not only convey meaning, they are meant for chanting in *yajña* also. Meaningfulness of vedic words is opposed neither by K nor anybody else can do so."[4]

It's noteworthy that *yajña* used to involve all '*varṇas*' by one way or the other for its accomplishment. So the *yajña* flourished. The Brāhmaṇa devotedly kept learning - preserving *mantras* (the veda) though bothering little for their meaning, since it was almost useless in the *yajña*. All about utility ! In this light K is recognised as belonging to the *'yājñikāḥ'*. K is described also, in lighter vein, as '*mahāyājñika*' ![5] But for this reason only, to take him as opponent of Veda, is injustice to him. *Yājñikas* served Veda, but in their way.

During the *Yajña*- institution becoming wide-spread, some musical aspect of the *mantra* also was noticed, and some impact of sound- forms was also experienced. Music is known to have *mantra*- origin. Reciting *mantras* in specific rising-falling order creates very distinguished sound-waves, which affect human mind. When the atmosphere is purified by fragrant *Yajña*- smoke and charged with melodious *mantra*- sounds, no wonder if mind is lost in divinity.

Here an experience of Ravindranath Tagore deserves mention, even with a little risk. He, after taking *Yajñopavīta*, was told by his father Devendranath to do *Gāyatrī-Japa*. In that immature age no grasp of *mantra*- significance was possible. He writes-[6] "One thing is certain that to understand meaning of the words is not the only matter. ---- But to strike or knock the mind only is a great matter of learning (i.e. education). Thanks to that striking what is aroused 'within' is beyond the capacity of a child to describe. That sort of inner whispering is more than what he can speak. I remember that I did not understand many things in childhood, but, they all had enthrilled my inner self. Fact is that the information of the movement in the harem of 'within', does not always reach the sphere of intelligence (*'buddhi'*). Western scholars in interpreting Veda remained active on the arena of intelligence..... Could not get the soul."

Ṛṣis were great genius. Ravindranath remarks about such persons that - 'the language they speak is the language to be heard not through ears, but through *Prāṇa*, the soul'. It is clear that the core of Veda is something very distinguished from its etymological meaning.

4. 'Veda, Vedārtha aura Vedic Devatā' in *Gaṅgā-Vedāṅka*, Jan. 1932, translated by Prof. Gaṅgāprasāda Mahatā.
5. Bindra Trilochan Singh : *Pāvamānī* - 16/4 & 17/1, Pub. Gurukul Prabhat Ashram (Tikari), Merath, 2002, p. 51.
6. 'Ṭāgora nā caritra - lekho' - *Jīvanasmṛti*, pp.130-134; Gujarati translation by Ramanlal Soni.

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Maharshi Mahesh Yogi, who (himself being a scholar in physics) is busy propagating Vedic Science in western countries for last few years, has thrown special light on the vedic sounds along with Transcendental Meditation, on the strength of Sound Theory of Physics. He holds that "Pure consciousness through its own self-interacting dynamics, expresses itself as the diversified forms and phenomena in creation. In assuming the role of material universe, it moves within itself, creating a dynamic structure within its internal silence. This structure is *Shruti.*" Maharshiji describes it as "vibrancy of intelligence in the form of sound generated by the self-referral dynamics of consciousness of those specific sounds that construct pure consciousness."[7]

"The holistic value of the sound is found as the expressions of *Ṛg-veda*, whose greatest significance lies in its phonetic structures, and not in a translated meaning."

"Within the holistic structure of sound are innumerable frequencies, which are embodied in the texts of the (Vedic) literature."

Dr. Tony Nader (M.D. and Ph.D. in Physiology) working closely with Maharshiji, has recently discovered that "the text of the Vedic Literature can be correlated with different aspects of the human physiology in both structure and function. When these texts are read with proper pronunciation by individuals who practise the transcendental meditation technique, the most fundamental impulses of natural law, recorded in the Vedic Literature, are enlivened in the mind, body and environment. It brings balance between physiological structures and their functions, restores health, along with growth towards higher state of consciousness."[8]

Ancient seers might not claim to know the subtleties as of modern science, yet, they were not totally ignorant also of such phenomena.

Veda is called authoritarian ('*prabhu-sammita*') i.e. unchangeable like king's order. In the *mantra,* even with meaning and metre remaining constant, no change of letter, word or sequence even is tolerable, since any such change would disturb the specific phonetic structure of text causing loss of its prowess.

The *'nañ'* prefix in '*anarthaka*' used by K can be faultlessly taken to indicate *'īṣat'* i.e. slight, and not negation or voidness, since many people of authority have used it in this sense. Y himself (in 1.19), while explaining '*ahalā apuṣpā*', has written '*kiñcit puṣpaphaleti*', which itself is in the sense of '*īṣat*'. Moreover, while refuting the 4th argument

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7. Maharshi Mahesh Yogi, *Maharishi's Absolute Theory of Government : Automation in Administration,* p.352.

8. Tony Nadar, *Human Physiology, Expression of Veda and the Vedic Literature,* p.201

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of K, Y gives the examples of '*asapatna brāhmaṇa*' and '*anamitra - ajātaśatru - Rājā*'. Acharya Vishveshvara explains this as : 'In the Loka also, this usage is not considered as negative or opposive.... These usages are meant to suggest scarceness or insignificance of enemies.'[9]

Taking all above going matters into consideration, it can be said that K did not aim at opposing Veda or meaningfulness of *mantras,* but, at emphasising phonetic nature of the *mantras.* Adequate chronological evidences are not available to assert whether K belonged to the ideology or school believing in '*śabda*' or '*nāda*' as '*Brahma*' to which Y or Nirukta school of meaning did not.

9. Acharya Vishveshvara, *Niruktam,* pp.107, 122

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THE CONCEPT OF NON-DUALISM OF WORD IN *VYĀKARAṆA*

SATYA PRAKASH DUBEY*

Right from the *Mahābhāṣya* of Patañjali (150 B.C.) upto *Vākyapadīya* of Bhartṛhari (6th Century A.D.) the works of Sanskrit Grammar have dealt with not only the formation of words, but with the philosophy of Word also. This philosophy of word continued to be pursued upto Nāgeśa Bhaṭṭa (18th Century A.D.) who dwelt upon this theme in his *Vaiyākaraṇa Siddhānta Mañjūṣā*. Besides this vast literature, we have reference to such voluminous works as *Saṅgraha* of Vyāḍi which, according to the references available, consisted of one lac of verses and which is unfortunately lost to us.

One such work is *Kāśikā* of Nandikeśvara, which is available in fragments only. Nandikeśvara, while commenting on the first *Pratyāhāra Sūtra* अइउण् comments.

अकारो ब्रह्मरूपः स्यान्निर्गुणः सर्ववस्तुषु ।
चित्कलामिं समाश्रित्य जगद्रूप उणीश्वरः ॥
अकारःसर्ववर्णाग्र्यः प्रकाशः परमेश्वरः ।
आद्यमन्त्येन संयोगादहमित्येव जायते ॥ [1]

'अ' according to this interpretation, indicates unavoidable *Brahman* whereas इ is *Māyā* and उ the qualified God. The unqualified transforms himself into the qualified through the power of *Māyā*. The whole *Pratyāhāra* symbolises the sense of ego, represented by the word *aham* formed by adding the last latter ह to the first letter अ. Nandikeśvara further develops the idea by equating the three letters to *Parā, Paśyantī* and *Madhyamā* on the one hand and to light, consciousness and Viṣṇu on the other.

सर्वं परात्मकं पूर्वं ज्ञप्तिमात्रमिदं जगत् ।
ज्ञप्तेर्बभूव पश्यन्ती मध्यमा वाक् ततः स्मृता ॥
अकारो ज्ञप्तिमात्रं स्यादिकारश्चित्कला स्मृता ।
उकारो विष्णुरित्याहुर्व्यापकत्वान्महेश्वरः ॥[2]

Journal of the Oriental Institute, Vol. 50, Nos. 1-4, Sept.-June 2000-2001 Issue, pp. 23-27.

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1. Quoted in *Vyākaraṇa Mahābhāṣyachāyā* Commentary (Bombay 1951) P. 149
2. *Ibid.*, P. 149

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It is because of this esoteric nature of word that it has been identified with the Ultimate Reality by Bhartṛhari in the opening verses of *Vākyapadīya* -

अनादिनिधनं ब्रह्म शब्दतत्त्वं यदक्षरम् ।
विवर्ततेऽर्थभावेन प्रक्रिया जगतो यतः ।।[3]

By identifying *Brahman* with word, Bhartṛhari here lays down the foundation of non-dualism, as *Brahman* is free from all kinds of differences -- homogeneous or heterogeneous. The world of variety is nothing but an appearance of the power of Word, technically known as *Sphoṭa*. By identifying word with *Brahman*, Bhartṛhari has left no doubt about the non-duality of word, because *Brahman* has been clearly stated to be one without the other and all plurality has been denied in It. It is because of this that the realisation of *Parāvāk* is said to be the means of liberation -

स्वरूपज्योतिरेवान्तः परा वागनपायिनी ।
तस्यां दृष्टस्वरूपायामधिकारो निवर्तते ।।[4]

The truth can be one only - either negative or positive-

तस्मात् सर्वमभावो वा भावो वा सर्वमिष्यते ।
न त्ववस्थान्तरं किञ्चिदेकस्मात् सत्यतः स्थितम् ।।[5]

The Ultimate Reality is positive from which originates this world of appearance - 'यतो वा इमानि भूतानि जायन्ते, येन जातानि जीवन्ति, यत्प्रयन्त्यभिसंविशन्ति च तद् विजिज्ञासस्व'[6]

The same has been put in the form of an aphorism by Bādarāyaṇa-

जन्माद्यस्य यतः[7]

The world is not the real modification of *Brahma-vikāra* but an unreal appearance *vivarta*. The difference between *vikāra* and *vivarta* has been brought out in the following *Kārikā*-

सतत्त्वतोऽन्यथाप्रथा विकार इत्युदीरितः ।
अतत्त्वतोऽन्यथाप्रथा विवर्त इत्युदीरितः ।।[8]

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3. *Vākyapadīyam*, 1/1
4. *Vyākaraṇa Mahābhāṣyachāyā* commentary P.44
5. Quoted in *Sārasvatī Suṣamā* year 39 (Varanasi Vikram-Samvat, 2041) P.164
6. *Taittirīyopaniṣad*, 3/1/1
7. *Brahmasūtram*, 1/1
8. *Vedāntasāraḥ* (Calcutta, 1915) P.108

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In the undifferenciated form there is no such division as the qualification and the qualified and even though the differentiated form does make the difference between the two, the difference is not real. Though there appears to be difference there is no real difference. This state is inexplicable. Similarly, the power by which *Brahman* assumes difference is inexplicable, but, not unreal.

Just as the basic metal of gold is available in all the ornaments, similarly the word pervades all the objects-

न सोऽस्ति प्रत्ययो लोके यः शब्दानुगमादृते ।
अनुविद्धमिव ज्ञानं सर्वं शब्देन भासते ॥[9]

Just as multiplicity is *vivarta,* non-duality is *saṁvarta.*

अनेकस्यैकत्रोपसंहारः संवर्तः[10]

The word pervading all the objects can, therefore, easily be inferred as the cause of them all. The objects originated from the word are sustained by it and dissolve into It. The Upaniṣads clearly mention that the difference between one object and another object is the creation of word वाचारम्भणं विकारो नामधेयं, मृत्तिकेत्येव सत्यम्[11]. That the world indicates the object is a proof of the identity of the two. The non-duality of the word is clearly mentioned by Bhartṛhari-

एकमेव यदाम्नातं भिन्नं शक्तिव्यपाश्रयात् ।
अपृथक्त्वेऽपि शक्तिभ्यः पृथक्त्वेनेव वर्तते ॥[12]

The non-duality of *Brahman* is indicated by this oneness, which has nothing to do with the numerical one. The identity of the word and object is reinforced by such statements as -

वागेवार्थं पश्यति वागेवार्थं ब्रवीति, वागेवार्थं निहितं सन्तनोति ।
वागेव विश्वं बहुरूपं निबद्धं तदेतदेकं प्रविभज्योपभुङ्क्ते ॥[13]

The word is light par-excellence-- it illuminates the darkness also. The consciousness has no successiveness and therefore cannot be described by Words which occur in succession. Word when identified with *Brahman* has no succession.

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9. *Vākyapadīyam,* 1/123
10. *Ambākartrī* Commentary on *Vākyapadīya* (Varanasi, 1976) 1/1 p.6
11. *Chāndogyopaniṣad,* 6/1/4
12. *Vākyapadīyam,* 1/2
13. Quoted in *Bhāva Pradīpa* commentary of *Vākyapadīya* (Varanasi, 1984) P.30

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This word is symbolised by ओङ्कार । एतद्वै सत्यकाम परं चापरं च ब्रह्म यदोङ्कारः ।।[14]

The identity of the Ultimate Reality with the word is more clearly stated in the *Mahābhārata*-

द्वे ब्रह्मणी वेदितव्ये शब्दब्रह्म परं च यत् ।
शाब्दे ब्रह्मणि निष्णातः परं ब्रह्माधिगच्छति ।।[15]

The very first *Sūtra of Aṣṭādhyāyī* begins with the word *vṛddhi*. *Vṛddhi* is derived from the root वृध् which means the same thing as the root बृंह् which is the root behind the word *Brahman* also. Similarly Kaiyaṭa while explaning the *Vārttika* सर्वस्य वा चेतनावयवत्वात् on the aphorism. धातोः कर्मणः समानकर्तृकादिच्छायां वा [16] explains the word *sarvasya* as indicating the non-duality of soul.

The other grammarians also show a tendency towards non-dualism while offering prayer. Bhaṭṭojidīkṣita, for example, starts latter half of *Vaiyākaraṇa-siddhānta-kaumudī* with the following verse -

श्रौत्रार्हन्तीचणैर्गुण्यैः महर्षिभिरहर्दिवम् ।
तोष्टूय्यमानोऽप्यगुणो विभुः विजयतेतराम् ।।[17]

Kaiyaṭa while explaining the beginning of the *Mahābhāṣya* clearly makes a reference to *Brahman*-

'असत्योपाध्यवच्छिन्नं ब्रह्मतत्त्वमत्र द्रव्यशब्दवाच्यम्'[18]

The relation between the *śabda* and *artha* can be explained in another way also. Pandit Ramyatna Shukla, my guide of Ph.D., once lucidly explained in one of his lectures that the *Brahman* is characterised by knowledge and bliss; the knowledge is the origin of *śabda*, the bliss is the origin of *artha*. The grammarian is thus neither *pariṇāmavādī* like the *Sāṅkhya* nor *ārambhavādī* like *Nyāya* but *vivartavādī*.

It may be mentioned that the description of the *Brahman* as given in works like *Laghumañjuṣā* is applicalbe to *śabdabrahma* also. It may also be added that grammarians like Śrī Śeṣakṛṣṇa clearly make mention of *śabdabrahma*.

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14. *Praśnopaniṣad*, 5/3
15. *Mahābhāratam, Śāntiparva*, 232/30
16. *Aṣṭādhyāyī*, 3/1/7
17. *Vaiyākaraṇa-siddhānta-kaumudī* (Varanasi, 1975) P. 180
18. *Mahābhāṣya-Pradīpaḥ* (Bombay 1951) P.59

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शब्दब्रह्मचिदानन्दमधिष्ठानमुपास्महे ।
यस्य वर्णाः पदं वाक्यं विवर्ताः सञ्चकासति ॥[19]

In fact as soon as we add the word *tattva* after *śabda* it automatically implies the Ultimate Reality, because the dictionary meaning of the word *tattva* is *tattvam parātmani*[20] the connotation is further supported by such statements as *vāg vai brahma.*[21]

19. Quoted in *Sārasvatī-Suṣamā*, 38/3-4, P 146
20. *Medinīkośaḥ* 29/9
21. *Bṛhadāraṇyakopaniṣad*, 4/1/2

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COMPARATIVE SEMANTICS IN PĀṆINI AND JUMARA SYSTEMS OF GRAMMAR*

RADHAMADHAB DASH**

I

Introductory

The *Saṁkṣiptasāra Vyākaraṇa* written by Kramadīśvara (C.10th A.D.) is the original *sūtra*-substratum of the Jumara System of Grammar. It is popular as Jumara System after the celebrated scholar Jumaranandī who immensely contributed to this system by way of revision, improvement and its completion by writing later the *Kṛcchcheṣauṇādi-prakaraṇa.* Besides, he wrote a *Vṛtti* (gloss) known as *Rasavatī,* and due to the masterly influence of this gloss, it was also referred as *Rāsavata* school by Bharata, the commentator on *Bhaṭṭikāvya.* Next to *Rasavatī,* Goyicandra's *Vivaraṇī-ṭikā* deserves a special mention for its lucid interpretation of the system. The author Kramadīśvara styles himself as *Vādīndra-cakra-cūḍāmaṇi* 'Jewel of circle of controversialists' as known from its colophon perhaps due to his proficiency in *Śāstrārtha* and *Tarka* and Goyicandra as *Autthāsanika* conveying a personality who when approaches the court, the king stands up as a token of respect and offers a seat. This may be either a patronymic or some religious or political title.[1]

The commentary *Vivaraṇī* provides detailed exposition of both the *sūtras* of Kramadīśvara and the gloss *Rasavatī* of Jumaranandī. Besides, Goyicandra is believed to have composed the *sūtras* of the *pariśiṣṭas* (appendix) of the *Taddhita* section. The best part of Goyicandra's commentary is that on the *Kāraka* or the 5th chapter. Thus Pt. H.P. Shastri notices that *Saṁkṣiptasāra* has undergone the following four stages of development before it became a full-fledged and complete school of *Saṁkṣiptasāra-vyākaraṇa* : I. the *sūtras* of Kramadīśvara ; II. the composition of the commentary called the *Rasavatī* ; III. the revision

Journal of the Oriental Institute, Vol. 50, Nos. 1-4, Sept.-June 2000-2001 Issue, pp. 29-42.

* Paper presented in the '25th All India Conference of Linguistics' Jointly organised by C.I.I.L., Mysore, Dept. of Linguistics, Calcutta Univ. & the Linguistic Society of India, 26-28, November, 2002, Calcutta University, Kolkata.

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1. See details R.S. Saini (Cr. Ed.) (1995) 'Introduction' to *Saṁkṣiptasāra Vyākaraṇa* Vol. I, Bharatiya Vidya Prakashan, Delhi, P.iv-xxiv; also see the subject matter in other volumes of the same edition i.e., Vol. II & Vol. III : (2000).

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and improvement by Jumaranandi ; IV. Goyicandra's composition of the *Vivaraṇī* commentary.

This system created and nurtured by the three grammarians can be compared with the *Trimuni* of Pāṇinian system where Pāṇini, the *sūtrakāra* is believed to be the follower of Śaiva tradition of Grammar, Śiva being the original exponent of the system. The two other scholars i.e. Kātyāyana, the scholar responsible for revising and improving upon the Pāṇini's *sūtras* through his *Vārttikas* and Patañjali, the master commentator of both the *sūtras* and *Vārttikas* with Pāṇini make the trio or famous as *Trimuni*. In Jumara system, the same parallel is noticed. Kramadīśvara, the *sūtrakāra* was perhaps a devotee of Lord Śiva, as the component īśvara in his name as such indicates it. Mahārājādhirāja Jumaranandī who revised and completed the system through his commentary *Rasavati* and supplied examples on the *sūtras*, more or less contributed similarly as did Kātyāyana to Pāṇini's system; and Goyicandra wrote the elaborate commentary *Vivaraṇī* both on the *sūtras* and Jumara's *Rasavatī* thus perfecting the system. Later on the scholars who joined the stream only commented upon Goyicandra's *Vivaraṇī*.

II

Systematics of Jumara Vyākaraṇa

Many *sūtras* of this *Vyākaraṇa* have been written imitating those of Pāṇini. But S.K. Belvalkar[2] remarks that the special feature of this school is that it seems to have been composed on the model of Bhartṛhari's *Mahābhāṣyadīpikā* and its author has taken most of the illustrations from the *Bhaṭṭikāvya*. This work contains, as its name implies, the abridged essence (*saṁkṣiptasāra*) of the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* and the portion devoted for Sanskrit Grammar is more than three fourth as large (*pādas* I-VII) as that work. The eighth chapter (*pāda*) though named as *Prākṛtādhyāya* also includes the details of 45 Sanskrit meters (*chandas*) and 38 figures of speech (*alaṁkāras*). The available editions are found having the *sūtra* details as follow : *Pāda* I. *Sandhipāda*- No. of *sūtras* - 380; II. *Tiṅantapāda* - 917 ; III. *Kṛdantapāda* - *542,* III(A). *Kṛcceṣoṇādipāda* composed by Jumaranandi-222, III (B). *Kṛccesóvyayapāda* of Goyicandra - 60; IV. *Taddhitapāda*-901 IV(A). *Taddhita- pariśiṣṭa*-558; V. *Kārakapāda* - 207; VI. *Subantapāda* - 405; VII. *Samāsapāda* - 507; VIII. *Prākṛtādhyāya* - (A) *Svarakāryāṇi* - 43, (B) *Halkāryāṇi* - 153, (C) *Subantakāryāṇi* - 89, (D) *Tiṅantakāryāṇi* - 83 and (E) *Apabhraṁśasūtrāṇi* - 117 (totaling 485) and the grand total of the number of *sūtras* is 5184. To be more specific the original volume composed by Kramadīśvara for Sanskrit Grammar contained 3859 *sūtras*. Both Jumaranandī & Goyicandra added to it 840 *sūtras*. The *Prākṛtādhyāya* containing Prakrit grammar adds 485 *sūtras* besides the description of

2. Vide S.K. Belvalkar (1914). *An Account of the Different Existing Systems of Sanskrit Grammar.* 2nd Rev. Edn. 1980. Amritsar : Oriental Publishers. P. 91

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45 metres and 38 figures of speech. Thus this system is simply huge in comparison to that of Pāṇini. Had there been the chapters on Vedic and accent *sūtras* this would have been still bigger.

The changes brought about in this system and the scheme unnoticed in Pāṇini's *Aṣṭādhyāyī* are broadly (I) rejection of Vedic and Accent rules mentioned above (II) rejection of Metalinguistic techniques (III) inclusion of many such new ideas and usages from his predecessor grammarians in formulating *sūtras* not seen in Pāṇini's systems. The mode of systematization of the grammatical materials both in its accuracy and method though cannot be compared with those of Pāṇini, still it is favourably comparable to Vopadeva's *Mugdhabodha* and other similar grammatical treatises. The erudition displayed by Kramadīśvara is not far in advance than any other post-Pāṇinian grammatical work written up to that period. As mentioned earlier Kramadīśvara followed Bhartṛhari's *Bhāṣyadīpikā* in dividing subject matter of his system. It is also said that the *Vākyapadīya* of Bhartṛhari has also influenced him for topic - arrangement of his work in the following manner as opined by the critics.

Brahmakāṇḍa - Sandhipāda; Vākyakāṇḍa - Tiṅantapāda, Kṛdantapāda and *Kṛcceṣoṇādipāda ; Padakāṇḍa - Kārakapāda, Subantapāda and Samāsapāda.* This is a noticeable tendency which rightly makes the grammatical *parampara* a *Smṛti*[3] because every successive grammatical system or work draws materials from its predecessor grammarians. While Pāṇini composed his grammar, he accommodated in his system the materials and some of the metalinguistic techniques from his predecessors, which he deemed appropriate ones for his own system. With the growth of the Sanskrit language, the usages which have been obsolete are seen dropped and newly emerging usages have been included in every system and the concerned grammarian has framed rules accordingly. Thus Kramadīśvara, in many *sūtras,* is seen frequently quoting from earlier *Vyākaraṇas* pre-eminently from *Kātantra* and *Cāndra* besides referring to *Bhāgavṛttikāra* and *Anupadakāra.* Similarly, the commentary *Rasavatī* is rather more informative and it refers to many predecessors of Jumaranandī. One comes across the names of the earlier grammarians such as Vāmana, Jayāditya (both, the joint authors of *Kāśikāvṛtti*), Rakṣita, Kaiyaṭa (Kajjaṭa) besides quoting from the text of *Kāśikā, Nyāsa, Dhātupārayaṇa, Amarakośa, Trikāṇḍaśeṣa, Bhaṭṭikāvya* and from the literary works of Kālidāsa, Bhāravi, Murāri and from *Jānakiharaṇam, Saptamātṛkā, Pañcatantram* and others.

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3. Vide Vamadeva Acharya (Ed.) (1987) *Vākyapadīyam, Brahmakāṇḍam,* Varanasi: Krushnadasa Academy, P. 48

नानार्थिकामिमां कश्चिद् व्यवस्थां कर्तुमर्हति ।
तस्मान्निबध्यते शिष्टैः साधुत्वविषया स्मृतिः ॥ VP. I.29

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In spite of the dominance and popularity of the existing Pāṇinian system, Kramadīśvara thought to write a new grammar wholly basing on Pāṇini's work for catering to the needs of Śaivas of the central part of India.[4] Besides, this grammar was accepted by the scholars of Bihar, Bengal and Orissa and was inducted as course-component in the syllabi of the traditional Sanskrit *Pāṭhaśālās*. The popular saying as testimony to its favourable acceptance among Orissan Sanskrit scholars goes like - '*amara jumara niṭhei ghoṣ / āu sabu pāṭha cālare khos* 'Do thoroughly cram the *Amarakośa* and *Jumara-vyākaraṇa*, push the other study materials into the thatched roof.' The inclusion of a chapter on Prakrit language following the similar scheme found in *Haima Vyākaraṇa* is perhaps to cater to the needs of the Śaivites of his time who were used to Prakrit and local vernaculars besides the Sanskrit. Of course, the absence of any commentary by Jumaranandi and Goyicandra on this *Prākṛtādhyāya* raises doubt about its authorship. However, Pt. H.P. Shastri holds the view that it was also authored by Kramadīśvara but later dropped from the system by some mischievous editor. Thus goes the opinion of Nyāya Pañcānana, the commentator of Goyicandra's *Vivaraṇī*- ''कृतिना यत्कृतं कर्म तन्निरस्तं दुरात्मना ।
इदानीं तत्समुद्धृत्य संक्षेपेणोच्यते मया ।।

May be, it was the later addition in the line of *Haima Vyākaraṇa,* which is also marked with similar trends of composition along rejection of Vedic and accent rules. Restoration of the *Prākṛtādhyāya* to the text of *Saṁkṣiptasāra* as an integral part thereof is done by Tarkapañcānana.

III

Chronology of the Author

As regards the chronology of the three writers of the Jumara system of Grammar, there is not much controversy. Kramadīśvara quotes the two earlier post-Pāṇinian grammar schools namely - *Kātantra* (1st. C.A.D.) and *Cāndra* (5th C.A.D.). He would go earlier than Jumaranandī but later than Bhartṛhari (who died in 650 A.D.) whose works he followed in scheming the arrangement of his *pādas* (chapters) as hinted above. Kramadīśvara accepts the usages sanctioned by Pāṇini, *Kātantra* and *Cāndra*. Moreover, he profusely utilizes *Kāśikāvṛtti* of Jayāditya and Vāmana of 7th c.A.D., who wrote this masterly *Vṛtti* little later than Bhartṛhari. Thus Kramadīśvara would be placed somewhere in the centuries later than the 7th century. Goyicandra says that Kramadīśvara was acquainted with the *sūtras* of Vāmana, the rhetorician, who in his work on rhetorics, *Kāvyālankārasūtra,* includes a chapter on the criticism of good grammatical style and is supposed to exist in 850 A.D. Pt. H.P. Shastri on the basis of the various internal and external evidences settles that the three contributors of the Jumara system might have flourished between 850-1200 A.D. The upper

4. See R.S. Saini (1995). *op. cit.,* p. vi.

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time limit of Kramadīśvara would be 850 A.D., the same time as of Vāmana, the rhetorician, quoted by him. The 9th & 10th centuries were the palmy days of the Śaiva cult of the Pāśupatas and others in Central India which certainly coincide with the composition of this system of grammar mainly purported for the use of Śaivities. Moreover, its time cannot go beyond the 12th c.A.D. since the author does not cite from the renowned *Naiṣadha* of Śrīharṣa, the most famous poetic work of the 12th c.A.D. characterized for its superbly ornate style and grammatically equipped usages.

IV

Comparative Semantics between Pāṇini and Jumara Systems

A rule is a statement formula which mostly conforms to the norm of 'X' › 'Y' if 'Z', i.e. 'X will become 'Y'/'Y' (affix) will be ordained after the stem 'X' (nominal or verbal) in the sense of 'Z' or 'Z' being the condition, semantic or otherwise. Those factors conveying sense-elements for certain grammatical operation are the actual linguistic data, which the grammarian notices in the usage and makes his formulation in relation to those semantic factors. The 'Z' condition referred above may have sometimes metalinguistic import but those cases dealing with *saṁjñā, paribhāṣā, adhikāra, anubandhas* etc. are not covered in the scope of this paper. Rather rules relating to *Vidhi* 'prescription', *Niyama* 'restriction' and *Atideśa* 'expansion' providing and justifying actual words of usages in the Sanskrit language are taken into account in this paper. The scope of the paper is confined to compare Pāṇinian vocabulary denoting those sense-refering elements to those of Jumara system of grammar with regard to the similar rules providing identical formulations. It is to be stated here that Jumara system not only incorporated in large scale the elements from Pāṇini's *sūtras,* but, it also incorporated suggestions and data from the *Vārttikas* of Kātyāyana, *Mahābhāṣya* of Patañjali, and *Kāśikāvṛtti* of Vāmana & Jayāditya. Moreover the explanatory suggestions on semantic references of Pāṇini's *sūtra* found in *Vārttikas, Bhāṣya* and *Kāśikā, Dhātupāṭha* and *Gaṇasūtra* are literally accepted in Jumara to form its vocabulary. There, on comparison of the two systems, particularly of the words denoting semantic domain, Jumara presents easier synonyms for similar items of Pāṇini in more transparent manner. This is not the only purpose of restructuring Pāṇini's sense - conveying vocabulary, other factors have also been noticed as listed below : (1) Purely semantic factors, i.e., use of a synonym easier than that of Pāṇini, viz., *Krameṇa* 'alternatively' Jumara (J) 1.60 for *Paryāyeṇa* Pāṇini's (P) 7.3.31; *Āśraya* J. 1.258 for *Ālambana* of P.8.3.68 and so on. This amounts to the simplification tendency of the Pāṇini's system ; (2) Expressiveness of the vocabulary i.e. more of explanatory nature, viz., *Prameyaniścaya* 'determining the true sense' J.2.165 for *jñāna* 'knowledge' of P.1.3.35, *Nakṣatreṇa yogajñāne* 'knowing the composition of asterism' J.2.426 for *Nakṣatrayoge Jñi* of P.3.1.26.13 ; (3) Referring to straight forward meaning of certain sense references of Pāṇini, viz., *Smṛtyartha* 'having the

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sense of remembering' J.5.141 for *adhīgartha* 'sense of *adhi-ik* verbal combination' of P.2.3.52, *vyavahāra* 'sale and purchase' J.5.149 for *samartha* 'of same sense' (of the roots *vyava-hṛ* & *Paṇ*) of P.2.3.57; (4) Words of specific meaning replacing those of generic meanings, viz., *visarge* 'in the sense' of *visarjanīya* J.1.273 for *śabdasañjnāyām* (which is generic in sense) P.8.3.86, *Gṛhadwāra* 'door of the house' J.3.330 for *agāraikadeśe* (means 'a part of the house' which is generic in sense) P.3.3.79 ; (5) Affirmative words for negatively constructed words, viz., *sannihita* 'adjacent in order' J. 7.360 for *aviprakṛṣta* 'not remote' P.2.4.5, *swagatāloca* 'self comprehension' J.3.463 for *anupadeśa* 'not-direction' (by others) P.1.4.70; (6) Saving of syllables, i.e. Pāṇini's choices might have been more expensive of syllables, therefore, they are replaced by words of less number of syllables. *Agrage* 'Who goes in front' J.1.250 for *agragāmini* P.8.3.92, *udgatau* 'rising' J.2.41 for *Udgamane* of P.1.3.40 ; (7) *Saṁjñās* or technical terms are replaced by words of ordinary language, viz., 'Reduplicated' form, J.1.3.16 for *Sābhyāsasya* P.8.4.21, *prādi* 'Pra' etc. J.1.372 for *upasarga* P.6.1.91. However, item numbers 1 and 2 are more frequently noticed as potential causes of rechoosing new vocabulary for sense-denoting. On comparing, in many cases, Pāṇini's vocabulary appears archaic in relation to that of Jumara. Of course, as mentioned earlier, many of these changes incorporated, cannot be called innovation of Kramadīśvara rather the commentatorial literature like *Vārttikas, Bhāṣya, Kāśikā,* etc. have already supplied the clues in this direction while explaining those vocables of Pāṇini. He might have borrowed the same from *Cāndra, Kātantra* & others. A few of them are original to Kramadīśvara. However, such attempt by the Jumara system of grammar is important for maintaining transparency of the sense of the *sūtras* and easier understanding by the beginners. Below is presented a concordance of Jumara - Pāṇinian literature accommodating those *sūtras* or statements of Kramadīśvara and Pāṇini and other older Pāṇinīyas such as Kātyāyana (his *Vārttikas*), Patañjali (statement from his *Mahābhāṣya*)[5], Jayāditya & Vāmana (notes from their *Kāśikā*) including *Gaṇasūtras* mentioned in different *gaṇas* in the *Kāśikā*[6]. Words with **boldface** only in the concordance show reciprocal correspondence. The concordance has six columns such as 1 - figure - references of Jumara-*sūtras* where first figure refers to *pāda* or chapters 1 to 7 and 2nd figure, the exact number of *sūtras* in that *pāda*[7]; Column II refers to Jumara - *sūtras;* Column III meaning of the bold faced words; Column IV figure references of Pāṇini's *sūtras,* in three digit separated by a stop such as

5. For *Vārttika*- references, see The *Vaiyākaraṇa Mahābhāṣya* of Patañjali in 3 vols. Crit. Ed. by F. Kielhorn, I : 1880, II : 1883, III : 1855 Rpt. BORI, Poona, 1962, 65 & 72

6. All the references to Pāṇini's *sūtras* and quotes from *Kāśikā* given in this paper are in accordance with the *Kāśikā* of Vāmana & Jayāditya, Pt. I : 1969 & Pt. II : 1970, Sanskrit Academy Series 17 & 20, Ed. by Aryendra Sharma et al, Sanskrit Academy of Osmania University, Hyderabad.

7. See section II of this paper for contents of different chapters in *Saṁkṣiptasāra Vyākaraṇa*

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7.3.31 but if the reference is of four digit such as 6.1.79.3, the last figure refers to the *Vārttika* (3) on Pāṇini *sūtra* 6.1.79; column V supplies the exact *sūtras* of Pāṇini with carried forward components from previous *sūtras* and are square-bracketed for quick comprehension of those *sūtras;* column VI shows the usages collected either from *Kāśikā* or *Saṁkṣiptasāra* for reference of the scholar. It should be mentioned here that the meaning-entries in column III are made in accordance with Katre's *Dictionary of Pāṇini*[8] and English translation of the *Ashṭādhyāyī* of *Pāṇini* by S.C. Vasu[9]. Since the subject-matter of this paper can be developed to a full-length dissertation, attempt has been made to present illustratively from all the seven *pādas* of the Jumara the cases of changes of the semantic vocabulary of Pāṇini arranged in seven types in a Tabular Form :

Type I : Purely Semantic Factors, i.e. Use of Synonym easier than that of Pāṇini

I	II	III	IV	V	VI
J. 1.258	स्तम्भेरवा-दाश्रयनिकट्योः	in the sense of Support and Contiguity	P.8.3.68	अवाच्चालम्बनाऽऽ-विदूर्ययोः [उपसर्गात्, स्तम्भेः, सः मूर्धन्यः]	अवष्टभ्यास्ते 'He remains leaning upon a staff'. अवष्टब्धा सेना 'the army near at Land'
J. 1.281	अतेरतिप्रवृत्तौ च	in the sense of abundance i.e. excessively	P.1.4.95	अतिरतिक्रमणे च [कर्मप्रवचनीयः पूजायाम्]	अतिसिक्तमेव भवता 'It has abundantly been sprinkled by your honour'.
J. 2.20	परिहासे मन्यादुत्तमस्त-द्युक्ताश्च मध्यम एकवच्च	denoting Joke or sport	P.1.4.106	प्रहासे च मन्योपपदे मन्यतेरुत्तम एकवच्च [मध्यमः]	एहि मन्ये ओदनं भोक्ष्यसे इति, न हि भोक्ष्यसे, भुक्तः सोऽतिथिभिः "Thus thou thinkest 'I shall eat rice', thou shalt not eat that has been eaten by a guest".

8. See S. M. Katre (1968-69). *Dictionary of Pāṇini* in 3 Vols. Deccan College Building Centenary and Silver Jubilee Series 53. Poona : Deccan College Post-Graduate and Research Institute

9. Vasu S. C. (1891) (Ed. & Translation into English), *The Aṣṭādhyāyī of Pāṇini* in 2 Vols. Rpt. 1980, Delhi : Motilal Banarsidass

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I	II	III	IV	V	VI
J. 2.713	धृषशसोः प्रागल्भ्ये	meaning bold, impudent or arrogant	P. 7.2.19	धृषिशसी वैयात्ये [नेट्, निष्ठायाम्]	धृष्टः 'bold, daring'; विशस्त' rude, ill-mannered'
J 3.4	माङ्याक्षेपे	meaning censure or curse	P. 3.2.124 .6	माङ्याक्रोशे [धातोः, शतृशानचौ]	मा पचन्, मा पचमानः 'May he not cook' implying censure
J 3.328	उदः प्रतिकाष्ठके	meaning a carpenter's bench, the wood on which placing other plank and the carpenter carves & (Vasu); the act of imposing or placing upon (Katre)	P 3.3.80	उद्घनोऽत्याधानम् [हनः, अप्] निपात्यते	उद्घनः 'carpenter's bench'
J 4.55	पुन्नाम्नः पुंयोगे	"after name of a male (husband)"	P 3.3.80	पुंयोगादाख्यायाम् [स्त्रियां ङीष्]	गणकी 'wife of an astrologer', महामात्री 'the wife of Chief Minister'
J 4.519	गिरेरीयः शस्त्रजीविनि	referring to a person who lives by arms	P 4.3.91	आयुधजीविभ्यश्छः [पर्वते, सोऽस्याभिजनः]	हृद्गोलीयाः 'the mercenary soliders whose ancestral abode is the Hridgola mountain', so also अन्धकवर्तीयाः, रोहितगिरीयाः
J 5.71	फलसिद्धौ क्रियोपरमे तृतीया	denoting accomplishment or attainment of the object	P 2.3.6	अपवर्गे तृतीया [कालाध्वनोरत्यन्तसंयोगे]	मासेनानुवाकोऽधीतः 'He learnt the Anuvāka in a month' क्रोशेनानुवाकोऽधीतः 'He learnt the Anuvāka by going over a Krośa'.

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I	II	III	IV	V	VI
J 5.196	वर्गाज्जात्या-दिभिः पृथक्करणे	specification (of an individual) from the whole class	P 2.3.41	यतश्च निर्धारणम् [षष्ठी, सप्तमी]	गवां गोषु वा कृष्णा बहुक्षीरा 'Among cows the black one gives much milk'
J 6.37	पक्षे षष्ठ्याः	denoting party-name or faction	P 5.4.48	षष्ठ्या व्याश्रये [तसिः]	देवा अर्जुनतोऽभवन् 'The Devas became Arjunites'
J 6.289	कृपायां निन्दनेऽज्ञाने	denoting compassion, pity, endearment	P 5.3.76	अनुकम्पायाम् [सुपः, तिङः, यथाविहितप्रत्ययाः]	पुत्रकः 'the little child', 'poor child', विश्वसितकि 'fie ! he trusts'
J 7.13	अविच्छेदे-ऽन्यैश्च	complete connection throughout (duration of time)	P 2.1.29	अत्यन्तसंयोगे च [समासः, विभाषा, तत्पुरुषः समासः, कालाः, सुपा, द्वितीया]	मुहूर्त्तसुखम् 'a momentary pleasure'
J 7.338	किमो निन्दायाम्	in the sense of reproach	P 5.4.70	किमः क्षेपे [समासान्तः, न]	किंराजा यो न रक्षति 'He is no king who does not protect'

Type II : Expressiveness of the Vocabulary, i.e. more of explanatory nature

J 2.171	गम्याया-माचार्य-क्रियायाम्	acting as a teacher	P 1.3.36	सम्माननोत्सञ्जना-चार्यकरण-ज्ञान-भृति-विगणन-व्ययेषु-नियः [आत्मनेपदम्]	माणवकमुपनयते 'He initiates Māṇavaka
J 2.667	उताप्योर्वा-ढार्थयोः	assuredly, certainly (both the particles उत & अपि [धातोः] have same meaning)	P 3.3.152	उताप्योः समर्थयो-र्लिङ्	उत कुर्यात् 'Certainly he does', अपि कुर्यात् 'Assuredly he does'

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I	II	III	IV	V	VI
J 3.24	क्रियार्थाद्-भविष्यति	denoting an action performed for the sake of future action	P 3.3.10	तुमुन्ण्वुलौ क्रियायां क्रियार्थायाम् [भविष्यति]	भोक्तुं भोजको वा व्रजति 'He goes to eat'
J 3.261	परेः शारीणां सर्वतो नयने	moving of chess-pieces from every side, thus winning the game	P 3.3.37	परिन्योर्नीणो द्यूताभ्रेषयोः [घञ्]	परिणायेन शारान्हन्ति 'He kills (or takes) many pieces by moving a chess-man'
J 4.94	पत्युरिन्न-श्चोढायाम्	Marrying a lady a wife, (J), who legitimately takes part in the sacrifice of her husbend (P)	P 4.1.33	पत्युर्नो यज्ञसंयोगे [स्त्रियाम्, ङीप्]	पत्नी 'legitimate wife i.e. who is entitled to take part in the sacrifice of her husband'
J 4.766	निषिद्धदेश-कालातत्राधीते	'who studies in improper place or time'	P 4.4.71	अध्यायिन्यदेश-कालात्	श्माशानिकः 'who studies in a funeral ground', चातुर्दशिकः 'who reads on the 14th Junar day'
J 5.29	पराजेः सोढुमशक्यम्	that which is unbearable with reference to the verb परा-जि 'to be tired or worry'	P 1.4.26	पराजेरसोढः [कारके, अपादानम्]	अध्ययनात्पराजयते 'He finds study unbearable'
J 5.80	येनाङ्गी विकृतः	by whatsoever limb being defective is pointed out the defect of the person	P 2.3.20	येनाङ्गविकारः [तृतीया]	अक्ष्णा काणः 'blind of one eye' पादेन खञ्जः 'lame of foot'
J 7.342	बहूनां छाया	'profuseness of shadow	P 2.4.22	छाया बाहुल्ये [तत्पुरुषः, नपुंसकम्]	शलभच्छायम् 'A crowd of locusts darkening the sky' इक्षुच्छायम् 'the

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I	II	III	IV	V	VI
					sugarcane shade, i.e., groves of sugarcane'
Type III : Referring to Straightforward meanings of certain sense-referents of Pāninian system					
J 2.647	अद्यतनानद्य-तनसमुदाये	'with the doubt of time whether is was today or yesterday' (no imperfect due)	P 3.2.111.1	अनद्यतन इति बहुव्रीहिनिर्देशः *Kāśikā* तेन व्यामिश्रे न भवति [लुङ्]	अद्य ह्यो वा अभुञ्ज्महि 'We ate today or yesterday'
J 4.827	वशीकरण-मन्त्रे च	'the mantra by which the heart of another can be brought under one's control'	P 4.4.96	बन्धने चर्षौ [हृदयस्य, यत्] *Kāśikā* on it [परहृदयं येन बध्यते] वशीक्रियते स वशीकरणमन्त्रो हृद्य इत्युच्यते ।	हृद्य : 'hymn'
Type IV : Words of Specific Meaning Replacing those of Generic Meaning					
J 3.488	दिवोऽनक्षादौ	sense being not that of a desire of conquest or gain in gambling	P 8.2.49	दिवोऽविजिगी-षायाम् [निष्ठातो नः]	आद्यूनः 'shamelessly voracious or greedy'
J 4A.552	तारिका नक्षत्रे	meaning 'stars'	P 7.3.45.6	तारका ज्योतिषि	तारका 'star'
J 4A.553	वर्णका प्रावरणे	'a mantle or mask'	P 7.3.45.7	वर्णका तान्तवे	वर्णरा (mantle)
Type V : Affirmative Words for Negative COnstructed Words					
J 1.2.77	निरस्तपौ सकृत्सेवने	'making it red-hot once'-J/'not making it red-hot repeatedly' (P)	P 8.3.102	निसस्तपता-वनासेवने [सः, मूर्धन्यः]	निष्टपति सुवर्णम् 'He puts the gold into the fire only once'

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I	II	III	IV	V	VI
J 3.8	द्विषः शत्र	'meaning an enemy (J); meaning not-friend' (P)	P 3.2.131	द्विषोऽमित्रे [शतृ]	द्विषन् 'enemy'
J 3.254	परेः क्रमे	'in the sense of following in regular succession' (J); 'not breaking the series or order' (P)	P 3.3.38	परावनुपात्यय इणः [घञ्]	तव पर्यायः thy turn
J 3.463	अदः स्वगतालोचे	'cogitating within himself (and does not address another)' (J) ; 'not addressing another (due to cogitation inside) (P)	P 1.4.70	अदोऽनुपदेशे [गतिः क्रियायोगे]	अदः कृत्वा 'having brooded over'
J 7.3.60	अध्ययन-निमित्तं सन्निहितं नाम	'adjacent in the order (of their study)' (J); 'not remote with order of their study' (P)	P 2.4.5	अध्ययनतोऽविप्र-कृष्टाख्यानाम् [द्वन्द्वः, एकवचनम्]	पदक्रमकम् 'person who has studied the pada arrangement and another who has studied *Krama*-arrangement'
		Type VI : Saving of Syllables			
J 2.41	आङो ज्योतिरुद्गतौ	'rising of luminary'	P 1.3.40	आङ उद्गमने [क्रमः, आत्मनेपदम्]	आक्रमते सूर्यः 'The sun rises'
J 2.267	आत्मनेऽनतः	'in the *ātmane-pada* construction'	P 7.1.5	आत्मनेपदेष्वनतः [झः, अत्]	चिन्वते They all collect
J 5.23	श्लाघादेर्यत् ज्ञीप्सा	'person, whom intended to inform or pursuade by the action'	P 1.4.34	श्लाघह्नुङ्स्थाशपां ज्ञीप्स्यमानः [कारके, सम्प्रदानम्]	देवदत्ताय श्लाघते, ह्नुते, तिष्ठते etc. 'He praises', 'hides, offers etc.'

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I	II	III	IV	V	VI
J 5.36	भीत्रार्थानां भीहेतुः	'from which the danger of fear proceeds'	P 1.4.25	भीत्रार्थानां भयहेतुः [कारके, अपादानम्]	चौरेभ्यो बिभेति 'He is afraid of thieves'
Type VII : Saṁjñās or Technical Terms replaced by Words of Ordinary Language					
J 2.313	वाक्यादि-सम्बोधनं सम्मत्यसूया-कोप-कुत्सा-भर्त्सनेषु	'vocative (at the beginning of the sentence)'	P 8.1.8	वाक्यादेरामन्त्रित-स्यासूयासम्मति-कोप-कुत्सन-भर्त्सनेषु [द्वे]	माणवका३ माणवक अभिरूपका३ अभिरूपक रिक्तं ते आभिरूप्यम् ।
J 2.828	हुर्भीभृञां द्विरुक्तिस्त-दादित्वञ्च	'reduplication 'which is due to श्लु)'	P 3.1.39	भीह्रीभृहुवां श्लुवच्च [आम्, लिटि, अन्यतरस्याम्]	बिभयाञ्चकार 'got frightened'
J 5.129	ङसोसामः सम्बन्धे	in the sense of relation (between two nouns)' (J); 'remaining sense, i.e. other than noun-verb relation' (P)	P 2.3.50	षष्ठी शेषे	राज्ञः पुरुषः 'the king's man'
J 6.1	लुक् चिह्नार्थस्य	(elision of the letter) meant for indication only	P 1.3.9	तस्य लोपः [इतः]	
J 6.208	र्वोपान्तस्याचि च	'of penultimate letters'	P 8.2.78	उपधायां च[र्वोः, दीर्घः, इकः, हलि]	मूर्च्छा
J 7.239	गोरप्रधानस्या-न्तस्य	'of secondary significance'	P 1.2.48	गोस्त्रियोरुपसर्जनस्य [प्रातिपदिकस्य, ह्रस्वः]	चित्रगुः 'possessed of a brindled cow'

V

Findings

Thus the study is an attempt to compare vocabulary of semantic references between Jumara and Pāṇini systems of grammar. It is a historical fact that speech

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communities develop preferences for certain synonym of a word at one age and replace the seemingly old alternatives by new ones. Pāṇini had chosen those vocables because people of his time were used to those ones. With the lapse of time and with the composition of expository works on the different *śāstras* including grammar, new suggestions emerging from the commentators, scholars and critics gained ground and the later scholiasts fancied to adopt in their treatises those suggestions. The later grammatical schools have frantically attempted to simplify the grammar and accordingly the descriptive techniques applied by Pāṇini in his *Aṣṭādhyāyī* have been modified along with their ancient vocabulary. But in spite of those attempts Pāṇini's grammar ever continues to remain as an effulgent lighthouse both for the accomplished scholars as well as the beginners. However, Jumara system contributes substantially in simplifying both in the technical as well as applicational niceties of the Pāṇini's grammar. Large number of semantic references collected by me from the Jumara system cannot possibly be accommodated in this paper. No doubt that, by changing the technical vocabulary of Pāṇini, the Jumara system has succeeded to some extent in economizing the descriptive technique of Pāṇini but at the same time, it is feared as having misunderstood Pāṇini's intent at least in generalizing the three types of optionalities through *v*ā which Pāṇini intends to convey by *v*ā, 'prefereably' *vibhāṣā* 'hardly' and *anyatarasyām* 'either or'. P. Kiparsky[10] in his research has shown the above three different shades of meaning of these three forms along with the attested linguistic proof. The later grammatical systems including the Jumara by uniformaly using *v*ā in places of *vibhāṣā* and *anyatarasyām* may be said to have done injustice misunderstanding Pāṇini's intention.

10. See P. Kiparsky (1979). *Pāṇini as a Variationist,* Pune : Poona University Press

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ASIDDHAVADATRĀBHĀT: ITS TREATMENT IN THE POST-PĀṆINIAN SYSTEMS OF SANSKRIT GRAMMAR*

NARAYAN PRASAD**

1. *Asiddhavadatrābhāt* (6.4.22) and *Pūrvatrāsiddham* (8.2.1) are the two most sophisticated *adhikāra-sūtras* of the *Aṣṭādhyāyī*. Although a detailed study was done in case of the latter topic more than six decades back (Buiskool 1934, 1939), such a study is still a desideratum in case of the former. Buiskool has established that many *sūtras* which are called *asiddha* are proved not to be so, however this *adhikāra* is maintained so carefully as to render nearly every group *asiddha* with reference to the immediately preceding one of the same rank (Buiskool 1939:156). In the similar line, a systematic check of the *sūtras* under the *adhikāra* of *asiddhavadatrābhāt* is also desired to verify whether all the *sūtras* under it really deserve to be kept under it. In this regard, a comparative study of the different systems of Sanskrit grammar may prove to be useful.

1.1 In view of the above, this paper is a humble attempt to present a comparative study in case of the derivation of a few examples usually quoted in the commentaries of the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* under *asiddhavadatrābhāt*. The study is chiefly based on the present author's *Concordance of Nine Sanskrit Grammars* which provides the concordance of the *sūtras* of Pāṇini, *Kātantra, Cāndra,* both recensions of *Jainendra, Śākaṭāyana,* Bhoja's *Sarasvatīkaṇṭhābharaṇa,* Hemancandra and Malayagiri grammars. Regarding the above *adhikāra-sūtra,* the different systems may be classified into two groups. The first group consists of *Cāndra,* Bhoja and both recensions of Jainendra grammars that retain the *adhikāra-sūtra,* whereas the remaining systems constitute the second group, which reject it. The second group generally simplifies matters by resorting to the method of *nipātana* or prescribing some special or exceptional *sūtras.*

2. The Pāṇini *sūtra* 6.4.22 with the *Kāśikā* commentary and the corresponding parallel *sūtras* along with commentary on the grammars of the first group are presented herewith for easy reference. The commentaries are being given in the chronological order.

Journal of the Oriental Institute, Vol. 50, Nos. 1-4, Sept.-June 2000-2001 Issue, pp. 43-54.

* The abridged version of this article was presented to the All India Oriental Conference, 41st session, Puri, 14-16 Dec., 2002.

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2.1 Incorporating the *vārttikas* on P.6.4.22, *samānāśraya-vacanāt siddham* ||12||, *yug-yuṭāvuvaṇyaṇoḥ* ||14|| into the body of the *sūtra* itself and based on the *bhāṣya* on these *vārttikas* and that of *asiddha-vacana uktam* ||11||, *atra-grahaṇam viṣayārtham* ||2||, *Candragomī* (about 5th c. A.D.) gives the following parallel *sūtra* and auto-commentary in his *Cāndravyākaraṇa* :

प्राग्युवोरवुग्युगसिद्धं समानाश्रये ॥ ५ । ३ । २१ ॥

प्राग् युवुसंशब्दनाद् [५ । ४ । १] वुका युका च वर्जितं कार्यं समानाश्रये कार्यान्तरे कर्तव्येऽसिद्धं वेदितव्यम् । एधि शाधि । एत्त्वशात्वयोरसिद्धत्वाज्झल्लक्षणं धित्वं भवति । जहि । जत्वस्यासिद्धत्वाद्धेर्लुग् न भवति । तत्र तस्य च भावात् समानाश्रयत्वमेतेषाम् । समानाश्रयलक्षणश्चात्र विधिः न व्याश्रयलक्षणप्रतिषेधः । प्राग्युवोरिति किम् ? अभाजि, रागः । आकारे कर्तव्ये नलोपः सिद्ध एव । अवुग्युगिति किम् ? बभूवतुः । उपदिदीये । वुग्युवोः सिद्धत्वाद् उव्यणादेशौ न भवतः । समानाश्रय इति किम् ? पपुषः चिच्युषः लुलुवुषः । वसोरुद् विभक्तयाश्रयेष्वालोप-यण्-उवादेशेषु कर्तव्येषु नासिद्धः । अस्मादेव वचनाद् बहिरङ्गपरिभाषा नेहाश्रीयते, बहिरङ्गस्य चान्तरङ्गनिमित्तत्वात् ।

2.2 Based on the *bhāṣya* of the above-mentioned four *vārttikas*, viz., 1,2,12 and 14, the *Kāśikā* commentary (about the beginning of 7th c. A.D.) on P.6.4.22 reads as follows :

असिद्धवदत्राभात् ॥ ६ । ४ । २२ ॥

असिद्धवदित्ययमधिकारः । यदित ऊर्ध्वमनुक्रमिष्याम आ अध्यायपरिमाप्तेस्तद् असिद्धवद् भवतीत्येवं वेदितव्यम् । आभादिति विषयनिर्देशः । आ भसंशब्दनोद् यदुच्यते तत्र कर्तव्ये । अत्रेति समानाश्रयत्वप्रतिपत्त्यर्थम् । तच्चेदत्र भवति, यत्र तदाभाच्छास्त्रीयं विधीयते तदाश्रयमेव भवति । व्याश्रयं तु नासिद्धवद् भवतीत्यर्थः । असिद्धवचनमुत्सर्गलक्षणभावार्थम्, आदेशलक्षणप्रतिषेधार्थं च । एधि, शाधीत्यत्र एत्वशाभावयोः कृतयोर्झल्लक्षणं धित्वं न प्राप्नोति, असिद्धत्वाद् भवति । आगहि, जहीत्यत्रानुनासिकलोपे जभावे च अतो हेः (६.४.१०५) इति लुक् प्राप्नोति, असिद्धत्वाद् न भवति । आभादिति किम् ? अभाजि रागः । ''अत उपधायाः'' (७.२.११६) इति वृद्धौ कर्तव्यायां नलोपो नासिद्धो भवति । अत्रग्रहणं किम् ? पपुषः पश्य । चिच्युषः पश्य । लुलुवुषः पश्य । वसुसंप्रसारणमाल्लोपे यणादेशे उवङादेशे च कर्तव्ये नासिद्धं भवति । आल्लोपादीनि वसौ, वस्वन्तस्य विभक्तौ सम्प्रसारणमिति समानाश्रयत्वं नास्ति । ''असिद्धं बहिरङ्गमन्तरङ्गे'' (परि. ५०) इत्येतदप्यत्र न भवति । किं कारणम् ? एषा हि परिभाषा आभाच्छास्त्रीया । तस्यां प्रवर्तमानायां वसुसंप्रसारणादीनामाभाच्छास्त्रीयाणामेवासिद्धत्वादन्तरङ्गबहिरङ्गयोर्युगपत् समुपस्थानं नास्तीति परिभाषा न प्रवर्तते ॥ वुग्युटावुवङ्यणोः सिद्धौ भवत इति वक्तव्यम् । वुग् उवङादेशे ---- बभूव, बभूवतुः, बभूवुः । युट् यणादेशे ----- उपदिदीये, उपदिदीयाते, उपदिदीयिरे । आभादित्ययमभिविधावाङ् । तेन भाधिकारेऽप्यसिद्धवद् भवति ॥

2.3 The corresponding parallel *sūtra* in Jainendra grammar is same as in Pāṇini. The commentary called *Mahāvṛtti* of Abhayanandī (between 8th and 10th c. A.D.) on this *sūtra*, which also gives the purpose of *vat-karaṇa* in it, is as follows :

असिद्धवदत्राभात् ॥ ४ । ४ । २१ ॥

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असिद्धवच्छास्त्रं भवति आ भसंज्ञाद्नात् । अत्र शास्त्रे कर्तव्य इत्यधिकारो वेदितव्यः । आङभिविधौ द्रष्टव्यः । एधि इत्यत्र नित्यत्वादस एत्वखभावयोः कृतयोर्झल्लक्षणं धित्वमप्राप्तमसिद्धत्वाद्भवति । जहीत्यत्र जादेशे कृते ''अतो हेः'' [४ । ४ । ९६] इत्युप् प्राप्नोति असिद्धत्वान्न भवति । गतमित्यत्र ङिति झलि ङखे कृते अतः खं प्राप्तमसिद्धत्वान्न भवति । एवं यथायोगमुत्सर्गलक्षणसमावेशः । आदेशलक्षणप्रतिषेधश्च वेदितव्यः । **वत्करणं किम् ? स्वाश्रयमपि यथा स्यात् । देभतुः । देभुः । दम्भरुपसंख्यानेन लिटः कित्त्वे कृतेऽनु नखस्य सिद्धत्वात् ''हल्मध्ये लिट्यतः'' [४ । ४ । १०८] इत्येवं भवति ।** तथा वुगागमे उवादेशो सिद्धः । बभूव । बभूवतुः । बभूवुः । युडागमः ''एर्गिवाक्चादुङोऽसुधियः'' [४ । ४ । ७८] इति यणादेशं कर्तव्ये सिद्धः । उपदिदीये । उपदिदीयेते । उपदिदीयिरे । अत्रग्रहणं किम् ? अभाजि रागः । ''उङोऽतः'' [५ । २ । ४] इत्यैपि कर्तव्ये नकारस्य खं नासिद्धम् । आभादिति किम् ? ररन्धिव । ररन्धिम । हल्मध्ये लिट्यत इति एत्वे कर्तव्ये नुम्शास्त्रं नासिद्धम् ।

2.4 The *Daṇḍanātha* commentary on the parralel *sūtra* in the *Sarasvatīkaṇṭhābharaṇa* of Bhojadeva (11th c. A.D.) reads as follows. The influence of *Cāndra* in the *sūtra-pāṭha* is obvious.

प्राग्युवोरयुग्वुगसिद्धं समानाश्रये ॥ ६ । ३ । १९ ॥

(गु?यु)वोरिति संशब्दनात् प्रा... ... ... रवर्जितं कार्यं समानाश्रये प्रत्यये कार्यान्तरे कर्तव्ये असिद्धं भवति । असिद्धवचनमुत्सर्गलक्षणभावार्थमादेशलक्षणप्रतिषेधार्थं च । एधि । शाधि । अस्तिशास्त्योरेत्वशाभावयोः कृतयोर्झल्लक्षणं धित्वं न प्राप्नोति । असिद्धत्वाद् भवति । जहि गतवानिति जभावे अनुनासिकलोपे च कृते आदेशलक्षणौ (नि?हि)लुगल्लोपौ प्राप्नुतः । असिद्धत्वान्न भवतः । तत्र तस्य च भावात् स (ता?माना)श्रयत्वमेतेषाम् । समानाश्रयलक्षणश्चात्र विधिः । न (ल्या?व्या)श्रयलक्षणप्रतिषेधः । प्राग्युवोरिति किम् ? अभाजि । रागः । वृद्धौ कर्तव्यायां नलोपः सिद्ध एव । अयुग्वुगिति किम् ? बभूवतुः । उपदिदीये । (वुग्)युकोः सिद्धत्वाद् (वुग?उव)यणादेशौ (न) भवतः । समानाश्रय इति किम् ? पपुषः पश्य । चिच्युषः पश्य । लुलुवुषः पश्य । वसोः संप्रसारणं विभक्त्याश्रयं त(दा?दना)श्रयाल्लोप-यणुवङादेशेषु कर्तव्येषु नासिद्धं भवति । अस्मादेव वचनाद् ''असिद्धं बहिरङ्गमन्तरङ्गे'' (१-२-८४) इति परिभाषाप्यत्र नोपतिष्ठते । अन्तरङ्गबहिरङ्गयोर्युगपत् समवस्थानाभावात् ॥

2.5 Influenced by *Cāndra,* Somadeva Sūri, the author of *Śabdārṇavacandrikā* (also called the *Laghu-vṛtti* of Jainendra grammar), has modified the Jainendra-*sūtra* preserved in the *Mahāvṛtti,* by incorporating the Kātyāyana *vārttikas* 12 and 14 on P.6.4.22 and removing *vat* from it. His commentary reads as follows :

असिद्धोऽत्राभादयुग्वुक् ॥ ४ । ४ । २० ॥

असिद्धं भवत्याभाच्छास्त्रं अत्र शास्त्रे युग्वुग्वर्जिते कर्तव्ये । एधि, शाधि इत्यत्र एत्वशाभावयोः कृतयोः झल्लक्षणं धित्वमप्राप्तमसिद्धत्वात् भवति । ाहीत्यत्र जभावे कृतेऽतो हेरुप् प्राप्तः सिद्धत्वान्नास्ति । अत्रेति किं ? अभाजि । एपि नखं नासिद्धं । आभादिति किं ? ररंधिव । ररंधिम । एच्चखे नुम्नासिद्धं । अयुग्वुगिति किं ? उपदिदीये । बभूव । यणि उवि च कर्तव्ये युग्वुकौ नासिद्धौ ।

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3. In recent times there has been some controversy concerning just what is meant by *asiddha* and *siddha* (Cardona 1999: 155-161). There seems also to be some misunderstanding among the traditional commentators of the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* regarding the interpretation of the terms *asiddha* and *asiddhavat* (Bronkhorst 1980). The effects of using the terms *asiddha* and *asiddhavat* were deemed to be same by Kātyāyana. **But presenting the derivation of *vakti, manassu* and *apsarāḥ,* Bronkhorst shows that if *asiddha* is taken to mean same as *asiddhavat,* these three word-forms would result in the unwanted word-forms *vacci, manarṣu* and *apsarā* respectively.** The term *asiddha* determines in what order rules are to be applied. The term *asiddhavat,* on the other hand, does no such thing. It imposes no restriction at all on the order in which rules are to be applied. It merely states that, once a rule has taken effect first, it is as if it has not taken effect when subsequently certain other rules within the same *adhikāra* are to take effect (Bronkhorst 1980, section 2.2). Joshi and Roodbergen have tried to establish and maintain the traditional view that *asiddha* and *asiddhavat* mean the same thing (Joshi and Roodbergen 2002:82). The Jainendra (*mahāvṛtti*) is the only post-Pāṇinian grammar which retains the Pāṇini *sūtra asiddhavadatrābhāt* as it is. The other grammars of the first group [*Cāndra,* Bhoja and Jainendra (*laghuvṛtti*)] have removed the *vat* part, thus maintaining the traditional view.

3.1 The purpose of *vat-karaṇa* in the *sūtra* is first mentioned by Abhayanandī (between 8th and 10th c. A.D.) in the commentary called *Mahāvṛtti* on Jainendra grammar (see the underlined portion above, here *na-kham = na-lopaḥ*). Later Kaiyaṭa (about 11th c. A.D.) in his *Mahā-pradīpa,* the sub-commentary on the *mahābhāṣya* of Patañjali, presents the reason as the view of "others" thus: "*anye tvāhuḥ ----- svāśrayamapi yathā syādityevamartham vat-karaṇam | tena debhaturityatra svāśrayaika-halmadhya-gatatvāśrayā-vetvābhyāsa-lopau bhavata iti*" ||. But the direct derivation of *debhatuḥ* from *danbh* as *danbh-atus* › *dabh-atus* (P.6.4.24) › *debh-atus* (P.6.4.120) › *debhatuḥ* (P.8.2.66, 8.3.15) is acceptable neither to Kātyāyana/Patañjali nor to the Kāśikākāra, because P.6.4.24 and P.6.4.120 belonging to the *Ābhīya* section, the *nalopa* of *danbh* is *asiddha* in their opinion. Under P.6.4.120 the *vārttika* 5 along with the *bhāṣya* is as follows :

दम्भ एत्त्वम्

दम्भ एत्त्वं वक्तव्यम् । देभतुः देभुः । किं पुनः कारणं न सिध्यति ।
नलोपस्यासिद्धत्वात् ॥ ५ ॥

असिद्धो नलोपस्तस्यासिद्धत्वादेत्त्वं न प्राप्नोति ॥

The *Kāśikā* on P.6.4.120 gives the *vārttika:* ॥ दम्भेरेत्वं वक्तव्यम् ॥ देभतुः देभुः । नलोपस्यासिद्धत्वाद् न प्राप्नोति ॥ On similar ground the post-Pāṇinian grammars of the first group, except Jainendra (*Mahāvṛtti*), provide separate *sūtra* in the *etva-prakaraṇa* for this purpose.

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Cāndra gives the *sūtra* : *dambha-śrantha-granthām* ॥ 5.3.122 ॥
Sarasvatīkaṇṭhābharaṇa : *dabha-ślatha-granthām* ॥ 6.3.121 ॥
Śabdārṇavacandrikā : *dambheḥ* ॥ 4.4.126 ॥

Thus on the basis of the available grammatical literature, we conclude that by the term "*anye*", Kaiyaṭa refers to Abhayanandī only.

4. Now, let us consider the second group of the post-Pāṇinian grammars which has rejected the *adhikāra-sūtra* of Pāṇini.

4.1 Consider first the derivation of the word-forms, ***edhi, śādhi,*** and ***jahi.*** The grammars of the first sub-group which follow the method of *nipātana:*

Śākaṭāyana : *śādhyedhi-jahi* ॥ 4.2.33 ॥
Hemacandra : *śās-as-hanaḥ śādhyedhi-jahi* ॥ 4.2.84 ॥
Malayagiri : *śās-as-hanaḥ śādhi-edhi-jahi* ॥ 3.8.55 ॥
Siddhāntacandrikā : *jahyedhi-śādhi* ॥ 213 ॥
Mugdhabodha : *jahyedhi-śādhi hany-asti-śāsti hinā* ॥ 9.8 ॥
Śrīharināmṛtavyākaraṇam : *han-her-jahi* ॥ 3.286 ॥ ; *as-her-edhi* ॥ 3.308 ॥ ; *śās-heḥ-śādhi* ॥ 3.328 ॥

4.2 Consider now the grammars of the second sub-group, which prescribe special or exceptional *sūtras,* viz. *Kātantra* and *Supadma-vyākaraṇa.*

Kātantra :

हन्तेर्ज्ञ हौ । ३ । ४ । ४९ ॥
हेरकारादहन्ते ॥ ३ । ४ । ३३ ॥ धातोर्विहितस्य हेरकारात् परस्य लोपो भवति अहन्तेः । पच, पठ, भव, दीव्य ।... .... अहन्तेरिति किम् ? जहि शत्रून्, सन्निपातलक्षणस्य वर्णग्रहणेऽनिमित्तत्वात् ।
दास्त्योरेऽभ्यासलोपश्च ॥ ३ । ४ । ५० ॥ ; हुधुडभ्यां हेर्धिः ॥ ३ । ५ । ३५ ॥
अस्तेः ॥ ३ । ५ । ३६ ॥ अस्तेः परस्य हेर्धिर्भवति । अस-एधि । नित्यत्वादन्तरङ्गत्वाच्च एत्वे सति वचनम् ।
शा शास्तेश्च ॥ ३ । ५ । ३७ ॥ शास्तेः परस्य हेर्धिर्भवति शास्तेश्च शादेशो भवति । शाधि । अचेति कृते इत्वं स्यात् ।

Supadma-vyākaraṇa :

हुझलो हेर्धिः शा-शासेश्चास्तेरत् ॥ ३ । ३ । १ ॥ जुहोतेर्झलन्ताच्च हेर्धिः स्यात् । शाशेश्च शादेशो अस्तेश्च एद् भवति । ... . शाधि, एधि ।
हलः इन आनश् हौ ॥ ३ । ३ । २ ॥
हन्तेर्जः ॥ ३ । ३ । ३ ॥ हौ परे हन्तेर्ज स्यात् । जहि । अप्रत्ययत्वाद् हेर्लुक् न स्यात् ।
घोरादेद् द्विलुक् च ॥ ३ । ३ । ४ ॥

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अयुक्श्नूदतो हेः प्रत्ययात् ॥ ३ । ३ । ५ ॥ असंयुक्ता ---श्नु, उत्, अत् इत्येतेभ्यः प्रत्ययेभ्यः उत्तरस्य हेर्लुक् स्यात् । सुनु, कुरु, भव । अयुगिति किं ? शक्नुहि । प्रत्ययादिति किं ? नुहि, स्तुहि ।

5. Let us now consider the derivation of the word-forms ***āyan*** and ***āsan,*** the *laṅ prathama puruṣa* plural of the verbal roots iṆ (to go) and *as* (to be).

Pāṇini :

iṆ śaP jhi › iṆ ant (P.2.4.72, 3.4.87, 7.1.3, 3.4.100). At this stage two *sūtras* find the conditions fulfilled for their application. P.6.4.72 (*āḍ ajādīnām*) and P.6.4.81 (*iṆo yaṇ*). If the rule P.6.4.81 is applied, *iṆ ant › y ant,* which destroys the condition for the applicability of P.6.4.72. But the two *sūtras* belong to the *Ābhīya* section. Hence, the result after the application of the rule P.6.4.81 is *asiddha* with respect to P.6.4.72, i.e. the result y *ant* is as if it were *iṆ ant* only. Thus P.6.4.72 is applicable and we get *āṬ y ant › āyant › āyan* (P.6.1.68).

Regarding the derivation of *āsan,* at the stage *as ant,* two *sūtras* find conditions for their application fulfilled: P.6.4.72 (*āḍ ajādīnām*) and P.6.4.111 (*śnasorallopaḥ*). Due to *asiddhatva* of *allopa* of *as* from the latter, the former also applies and we get *as ant › āṬ s ant › ā s ant › āsan.*

5.1 The parallel *sūtras* for P.6.4.72, 6.4.81 and 6.4.111 in the grammars of the first group are given below (the parallel *sūtras* for P.6.4.22 have already been supplied earlier):

Cāndra: 5.3.82 (*luṅ-laṅ-lṅkṣvaḍamāṅyoge*) ; 5.3.87 (*iṆo yaṇ*) ; 5.3.104 (*śnasorlopaḥ*).

Jainendra (*Mahāvṛtti*) : 4.4.70 (*luṅ-laṅ-lṅyaṭ*) ; 4.4.77 (*yaṇetyoḥ*) ; 4.4.101 (*śnasaḥ kham*).

Bhoja (TE): 6.3.81 (*luṅ-laṅ-lṅkṣvaḍamāṅyoge*) ; 6.3.86 (*iṆo yaṇ*) ; 6.3.103 (*śnamasorlopaḥ*).

Jainendra (*Laghuvṛtti*) : 4.4.74 (*luṅ-laṅ-lṅyamāṅā'ṭ*) ; 4.4.80 (*yaṇiṆaḥ*) ; 4.4.108 (*śna' saṇ kham*).

The post-Pāṇinian grammars appear to have rejected the Pāṇini *sūtra* 6.4.72 (*āḍ ajādīnām*), and used the augment *aṭ* only whether the verb root is *ajādi* or *halādi.* In place of P.6.1.99 (*āṭaśca*), these grammars prescribe a *sūtra* equivalent to *aṭaśca* as follows :

Cāndra : 5.1.83 (*Ādaijevādyaṭaḥ*); Jainendra (*Mahāvṛtti*): 4.3.78 (*aṭaśca*); Bhoja(TE): 6.1.97 (*vṛddhirevādyaṭaḥ*); Jainendra (Laghuvṛtti): 4.3.90 (*aṭaśca dhau*). **In the derivation of the word-form *āyan,* the *sūtra* equivalent to P.6.4.81 is not used.** In this regard the views of different commentators of the post-Pāṇinian grammars are given below.

Under the *sūtra* 5.1.83, *Cāndra* remarks: आदैजेवाद्यटः ॥५।१।८३॥ पदादेरटः परो योऽचू, तस्माच्च पूर्वो योऽट् तयोर्द्वयोरेक आद् भवति, ऐच्च ।.... ... ... आयन् आसन् इत्यन्तरङ्गत्वादेकादेशः ।

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Under the *sūtra* 4.4.70, the *Mahāvṛttikāra* Abhayanandi remarks: लुङ्-लङ्-लृङ्ष्वट् ॥४।४।७०॥ लुङि लङि लृङि च परतो गोरडागमो भवति। ... ... आसन् आयन् इत्यत्र लावस्थायामडागमेऽन्तरङ्गत्वादैप्यायादेशे च कृतेऽत इत्यनुवृत्तेः "इनसः खम्" [४।४।१०१] यणादेशश्च न भवतः। (*guḥ = aṅgam, aip = vṛddhiḥ, kham = lopaḥ*)

Under the *sūtra* 6.1.97, the *Daṇḍanātha-vṛtti* on **Bhoja's** *Sarasvatīkaṇṭhābharaṇa reads thus:* वृद्धिरेवाद्यटः ॥६।१।९७॥ पदादेरटः परो योऽच्, अचि च पूर्वो योऽट् तयोः पूर्वपरयोरडचोः स्थाने वृद्धिरेवैकादेशो भवति। ... ... कथमायन् आसन् इति। अत्र हीणस्त्योर्यणल्लोपयोः कृतयोरनजादित्वाद् वृद्धिर्न प्राप्नोति। अन्तरङ्गत्वात् प्रागेव भविष्यति।

5.2 Now let us see how the second group of grammars have handled the derivation of *āyan* and *āsan*. The parallel *sūtras* for P.6.4.81 and 6.4.111 in these grammars are :

Kātantra : 3.4.59 (*iṇaśca*) ; 3.4.40-41 (*rudhādervikaraṇasya lopaḥ ; asterādeḥ*)

Śākaṭāyana : 4.2.1 (*hviṇo' cīkaśślele yañ*) ; 4.2.46 (*namastyorluk*)
Hemacandra : 4.3.15 (*hviṇorapviti v-yau*) ; 4.2.90 (*śnāstyorluk*)
Malayagiri : 3.8.41 (*juhoti-iṇoḥ apiti v-yau*) ; 3.8.61 (*śnam-astyorluk*)

Under the *Kātantra-sūtras* 3.8.19-20, *Durga-vṛtti* reads thus : अस्तेः ॥३।८।१९॥ अस्तेर्ह्यस्तन्याम-गुणेऽवर्णस्याकारो भवति। आस्ताम्। आसन्। व्यत्यास्त। परोऽप्यवर्णस्याकारो लोपेन बाध्यते, अस्तिमात्राश्रय-त्वात्। एतेर्ये ॥ ३।८।२०॥ ह्यस्तनि एतेर्ये परेऽटो वर्णस्याकारो भवति। आयन्, अध्यायन्, परापि वृद्धिरिणमात्राश्रितेण यत्नेन (?यत्वेन) बाध्यते।

Under the *sūtra* 4.2.133, Śākaṭāyana in his *Amogha-vṛtti* ramarks : यसः ॥४।२।१३३॥ एः इण इकश्च अस भुवीत्येतस्य धातोराद्यचः लङ्लुङ्लृङ् विषये आरैजासन्न ऐकार आकारश्चादेशो भवति अमाङा योगे।... ... आयन्। अध्यायन्। आस्ताम्। आसन्।... ... यत्रादेशे कृतेऽल्लुचि च आदिरज् नास्तीति पूर्वेणारैज् न भवति, इति वचनम्।

Under the *sūtra* 4.4.30, Hemacandra in his *Bṛhadvṛtti* remarks : एत्यस्तेर्वृद्धिः ॥४।४।३०॥ इणिकोरस्तेश्चादेः स्वरस्य ह्यस्तन्यां विषये वृद्धिर्भवति अमाङा।.. ... आयन्। अध्यायन्। आस्ताम्। आसन्।... ... यत्वे लुकि च स्वरादित्वाभावादुत्तरेण वृद्धिर्न प्राप्नोतीति वचनम्।

Under the *sūtra* 3.5.103, Malayagiri in his auto-commentary remarks : एति-अस्तेः ॥५।३।१०३॥ एतेः अस्तेश्च आदेः स्वरस्य "ह्यस्तनी" आदिविषये वृद्धिर्भवति न तु माङा योगे। आयन्। अध्यायन्। आस्ताम्। ... ... "अच्" आदेशादिबाधनार्थं वचनम्।

Thus we see that in all the above four grammars, special or exceptional *sūtras* have been prescribed for the derivation of *āyan* and *āsan*.

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6. Let us now consider the derivation of the word-forms ***śāmiṣyate, śamiṣyate*** and ***śamayiṣyate*** which are the three forms of *śāmi* (the *ṇijanta* form of the root *śam*, and hence *ajanta*) in *bhāva* or *karma, lṛṭ prathama puruṣa* singular. *śāmi* is *mit-saṅjñaka* as per the Pāṇini *dhātu-pāṭha gaṇa-sūtra* (*janI-jṛṣ-knasU-rañjo 'mantācca*). Hence as per P.6.4.92 (*mitāṁ hrasvaḥ*), *śāmi* › *śami*. Thus *śami lṛṭ* › *śami sya lṛṭ* (P.3.1.33) › *śami sya te* (P.3.4.77-78; 1.3.13; 3.4.79). At this stage P.6.4.62 (*syasIC-sīyUṬ-tāslṣu bhāva-karmaṇor-upadeśe 'jjhana-graha-dṛśāṁ vā CiṆvad-iṬ ca*) is optionally applicable. The augment *iṬ* takes place only in case of *CiṆvad-bhāva*. When *CiṆvad-bhāva* is allowed, the P.6.4.93 (*CiṆ-ṆamULor-dīrgho 'nyatarasyām*) finds its applicability. Thus three cases arise.

(a) *CiṆvad-bhāva* + optional *dīrghatva* of *śam*

We get, *śami sya te* › *śāmi iṬ sya te* (P.6.4.62; 6.4.93) › *śām iṬ sya te* [P.6.4.51 (*ṆeraniṬi*)] › *śām i ṣya te* (P.1.3.3; 8.3.59) › *śāmiṣyate*. Since P.6.4.51 and 6.4.62 belong to the same *Ābhīya* section, the augment *iṬ* through P.6.4.62 is *asiddha* and hence the suffix *sya* is *aniṬ* for P.6.4.51. Therefore, the *Ṇi-lopa* takes place.

(b) *CiṆvad-bhāva* without *dīrghatva* of *śam*

śami sya te › *śami iṬ sya te* › *śam iṬ sya te* › *śami i ṣya te* › *śamiṣyate.*

(c) Without *CiṆvad-bhāva*

In this case, since the suffix *sya* is *valādi*, it gets the augment *iṬ* as per P.7.2.35 (*ārdhadhātukasyeḍ valādeḥ*). Thus, we get, *śami sya te* › *śami iṬ sya te* › *śame i sya te* (P.7.3.84) › *śamay i sya te* (P.6.1.78) › *śamayiṣyate* (P.8.3.59).

Since *kāri* (*kṛ+Ṇic*) and *cori* (*cur* + *Ṇic*) are not *mit-saṅjñaka*, only two forms from each of these are possible -----***kārayiṣyate, kāriṣyate*** and ***corayiṣyate, coriṣyate.***

6.1 The parallel *sūtras* for P.6.4.51, 62, 92, 93 and 7.3.84 in the grammars of the first group are as follows :

Cāndra : 5.3.67 (*ṆeraniṬi*) ; 5.3.73 (*upadeśe 'jjhana-graha-dṛgbhyaḥ sya-sIC-sīyUṬ-tāsāṁ bhāvāpyayoś-CiṆvad iḌ vā*) ; 6.1.56-57 (*mitāṁ hrasvaḥ; CiṆ-Ṇamoṛ-dīrghaś ca*) ; 6.2.1 (*iko 'aḍeṅ kriyārthāyaḥ*).

Jainendra (*Mahāvṛtti*) : 4.4.53 (*Ṇeḥ*) ; 4.4.61 (*si-sya-sīyUṬ-tāsau ṅau grahājjhan-dṛśāṁ vā Ñivad-iṬ ca*) ; 4.4.86 (*Ñi-Ṇamor dīr mitām*) ; 5.2.81 (*gāgayoḥ*).

Bhoja (TE) : 6.3.67 (*ṆeraniṬi*) ; 6.3.73 (*upadeśe 'jjhana-graha-dṛśaḥ sya-sIC-sīyUṬ-tāsīnāṁ bhāvakarmakaṛtṛṣu-CiṆvad iḌ vā*) ; 7.1.69-70 (*mitāṁ hrasvaḥ; CiṆ-ṆamULor-dīrghaś ca*) ; 7.2.1 (*sārvadhātukārdhātukayor guṇaḥ*).

Jainendra (*Laghuvṛtti*) : 4.4.57 (*Ṇeḥ*) ; 4.4.65 (*si-sya-sīyUṬ-tāsāṁ ṅau grahāj-han-dṛśo*

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ÑiṬ) ; 4.4.90 (*ghaṭādi-kage-vanU-janI-jṛṣ-snas-knas-rañjyanmo 'paryapaskhat-kam-cam-yamaḥ pro 'm-ños tu dīr vā*) ; 5.2.91 (*gā 'gayoḥ*).

6.2 Now let us see how the second group of grammars has handled the derivation of *śāmiṣyate, śamiṣyate* and *śamayiṣyate.* The parallel *sūtras* for P.6.4.51, 62, 92-93 and 7.3.84 in the grammars of the second group are as follows :

Kātantra : 3.6.44 (*kāritasyānāmidvikaraṇe*); *Vṛtti* of 3.7.37 (*kṛño 'suṭaḥ*); 3.4.65-66 (*mānu-bandhānāṁ hrasvaḥ; ici vā*); 3.5.1 (*nāmyantayor guṇaḥ*)

Śākaṭāyana: 4.2.10 (*neriktāniḍāmālvantetnvāyye*); 4.3.18 (*han-dṛśi-grahajbhayas-si-tās-sya-saṭāṁ ñiḍ vā*); 4.1.202 (*ghaṭādi-kage-van-janaiṅ-jṛṣ-knasū-rañjyamo 'kami-camyamyampari-skhada upāntyasyāco 'aṇamyñau tu dīrgho vā*); 4.2.17(*akṅilluggheṭau*)

Hemacandra: 4.3.83 (*ṇeraṇiṭi*); 3.4.69 (*svara-graha-dṛśa-hanbhyaḥ sya-sijāśiḥśvastanyāṁ ñiṭ vā*); 4.2.24 (*ghaṭader hrasvo dīrghastu vā ñiṇampare*); 4.3.1 (*nāmino guṇo 'kṅiti*)

Malayagiri : 3.6.50 (ṇeḥ aṇiṭi); 3.10.27 (*svara-graha-dṛśi-hanibhyaḥ sya-sic-āśīḥ-śvastanyā vā ñiṭ*); 3.9.26 (*hrasvaḥ ghaṭādeḥ upāntyasya svarasya am-ñau tu vā dīrghaḥ*); 3.8.37 (*akṅilluggheṭau*)

The parallel *sūtras* for P.6.4.62 along with the relevant parts of the commentary in these grammars are :

Kātantra : कृञोऽसुटः ॥३।७।३७॥ असुटः कृञः परोक्षायां थलि च नेड् भवति । ... ''स्य-सिजाशीः श्वस्तनीषु भावकर्मार्थिकासु च'' । ''स्वर-हन-ग्रह-दृशाम्-इड्वेज्वचे''ति वक्तव्यम् ।... इज्वद्भावाद् इटस्तु कारितलोपः स्यात्- --कारयिष्यते, कारिष्यते, चोरयिष्यते, चोरिष्यते । मानुबन्धानां ह्रस्वो नित्यं --- गमिष्यते । (here *ic* = *ciṇ* in Pāṇini, *kārita* = *ṇic*)

Śākaṭāyana: हन्-दृशि-ग्रहज्भ्यस्-सि-तास्-स्य-सटां ञिड् वा ॥४।३।१८॥ हन् दृशि ग्रह इत्येतेभ्योऽजन्तेभ्यश्च धातुभ्यो विहितानां कर्मभाव-विषयाणां सि तास् स्य सट् इत्येतेषां प्रत्ययानां ञिडागमो भवति वा ।... अचः- ... शामिष्यते । शमयिष्यते । शमिष्यते । ... .

Hemacandra : स्वर-ग्रह-दृश-हन्भ्यः स्य-सिजाशीःश्वस्तन्यां ञिट् वा ॥३।४।६९॥ स्वरान्ताद्धातोः ग्रहादिभ्यश्च विहितासु भाव-कर्म-विषयासु स्य-सिजाशीःश्वस्तन्यीषु ञिट् प्रत्ययो वा भवति । स्वर- ... शमिष्यते, शामिष्यते, शमयिष्यते.... ।

Malayagiri : स्वर-ग्रह-दृशि-हनिभ्यः स्य-सिच्-आशीःश्वस्तन्या वा ञिट् ॥३।१०।२७॥ स्वरान्तात् ग्रहादिभ्यश्च परेषां भाव-कर्मविषयाणां स्य-सिच्-आशीः-श्वस्तनीनां ञिट् वा भवति । The commentary does not give the examples शमिष्यते, शामिष्यते, शमयिष्यते । But, these examples are fully derivable from this *sūtra.* Malayagiri follows Hemacandra regarding the *sūtrapāṭha.*

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It is remarkable here that Śākaṭāyana, Hemacandra and Malayagiri prescribe *ñiṭ* in place of *ciṇvad-bhāva* along with *iṭ* augment in Pāṇini. Unlike Śākaṭāyana, who calls *ñiṭ* an *āgama*, Hemacandra calls it a *pratyaya* (suffix), whereas Malayagiri is silent about it. The *ñiṭ* suffix (or *āgama*) is *aniḍādi* and hence in all these grammars, there is no problem in the operation of *ṇi-lopa*. So far as *Kātantra* is concerned, as per the *vārttika* in the *Durga-vṛtti*, the *iṭ* augment is to be treated as if it were *ic* suffix, which is *aniḍādi*. **It is to be noted here that it is *it* which gets the treatment of *ic* (equivalent to *ciṇ* in Pāṇini), i.e. *ijvad-bhāva* and not any *svarānta dhātu* or the *dhātus graha, dṛś* and *han*.** So the *Kātantra sūtra* 3.6.44 (*kāritasyānāmiḍvikaraṇe*) is applicable and the *kārita-lopa* (i.e. *ṇi-lopa*) occurs. Śākaṭāyana appears to have received this clue from *Kātantra* and has prescribed *ñiṭ* in place of *iṭ* (by the way, the Pāṇini's *ciṇ* is *ñi* in Śākaṭāyana). Hemacandra and Malayagiri have followed Śākaṭāyana.

7. Now let us consider the derivation of the Vedic word-forms ***dadhre*** and ***paridadṛśre,*** the corresponding *laukikā* forms being *dadhire* and *paridadṛśire*. The *Kāśikā* on P.6.4.76 gives :

इरयो रे ॥६।४।७६॥ इर इत्येतस्य छन्दसि विषये बहुलं रे इत्ययमादेशो भवति । गर्भं प्रथमं दध्र आपः (ऋ० १०।८२।५।) । यांश्च परिदद्रुश्रे (मै० सं० ४।४।१।) । धाञो रेभावस्यासिद्धत्वादातो लोपः (६।४।६४) भवति । न च भवति - परमाया धियोऽग्निर्माणि चक्रिरे ।

Here, *ire* is the *irec ādeśa* of the *tiṅ* suffix *jha* in the *liṭ, prathama puruṣa,* plural number as per P.3.4.81 (*liṭas-ta-jhayor eś-irec*). At the stage *dadhā+ire,* if *ire* is replaced with *re* as per P.6.4.76, it becomes *anajādi*. But P.6.4.64 and 6.4.76 belong to the *Ābhīya* section. Hence for P.6.4.64, the result *re* is as if *ire* only. So the final *ā* of *dadhā* gets elided and we get the required form *dadhre*. Similarly *paridadṛśre*.

7.1 The parallel *sūtras* for P.3.4.81; 6.4.64 and 6.4.76 in the ***Sarasvatīkaṇṭhābharaṇa* (SKĀ)** of Bhojadeva are : 3.1.8-9(*liṭa irec; tasyaiś*); 6.3.75 (*lopo 'ci kṅiti cātaḥ*); 8.2.54 (*irayo re*).

The Vedic and accent rules are scattered in Pāṇini's *Aṣṭādhyāyī*. But Bhoja has kept all these rules in ch. VIII; the Vedic rules in *pādas* 1 and 2 and all the accent rules in *pādas* 3 and 4. Then how to account for the *adhikāra sūtras* parallel to P.6.4.22 (*Asiddhavadatrābhāt*) and P.8.2.1 (*Pūrvatrāsiddham*)? The structure of the *sūtrapāṭha* in SKĀ is such that the rules are to be considered as divided into three parts (1) the *laukika* part consisting of ch.I to VII, (2) the Vedic part ch.VIII, *pādas* 1-2, and (3) the accent part ch.VIII, *pādas* 3-4. Then the main *adhikāra sūtras* mentioned in the *laukika* part have to be considered afresh in the remaining two parts, as is clear from the *Daṇḍanātha-vṛtti* on the SKĀ *sūtra* 7.4.178 [the *Daṇḍanātha-vṛtt* on ch.VII is still unpublished and the relevant part

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is being produced here from Ms No.698, preserved in the Adyar Library, Madras. For details about SKĀ, please refer to (Prasad 2002)]:

उत्तरस्य प्राक्षु यथापूर्वमुपदेशदर्शनाद् इष्टसिद्धिः ॥७।४।१७८॥ बहुलं छन्दसि (८।१।१) इत्यत आरभ्य यदित उत्तरमनुक्रमिष्यामस्तस्य संज्ञाप्रत्ययविधानादेः पूर्वे वा मध्ये पूर्वोपदिष्टसंज्ञायुदेशानतिक्रमेणोपदेशऽत्र द्रष्टव्यः । ते विप्रतिषेधे परं कार्यमिति समानाश्रये पूर्वत्रासिद्धं प्राग्जितादणित्यादेः प्रत्याहाराधिकारादेश्च समस्तस्याभीष्टस्य विधिः सिद्धिर्भवति ।

Here, by the term समानाश्रये, the SKĀ *sūtra* प्राग्युवोरयुग्वुगसिद्धं समानाश्रये ॥६।३।१९॥ is hinted at. The SKĀ *sūtra* 6.4.1 is "*yuvoranākāvasaḥ*". Thus in the *laukika* part the *samānāśraya asiddhatva* is covered under the *sūtras* 6.3.19 to the end of *pāda* 3 of ch.6. The *samānāśraya asiddhatva* in the Vedic part lies between the *sūtras* 8.2.47 and 8.2.66, both inclusive. The *Pūrvatrāsiddham* (7.3.38) *adhikāra* mentioned in the *laukika* part is to be considered afresh in the Vedic part between 8.2.106 and 8.2.149 and again in the accent part between 8.4.224 and 8.4.232. Thus the *sūtras* 8.2.54 (*irayo re*) and 6.3.75 (*lopo'ci kniti cātaḥ*) belong to the section under *samānāśraya asiddhatva.*

Notes

The published Madras Edition reads the *sūtra* 8.2.54 (*irayore**tritasvādīnāmacīyuvau vā***). This is obviously corrupted. Actually it should be read as two *sūtras,* the first one being quite obvious: "*irayo re*". The other one is based on the *vārttika "iyaṅādi-prakaraṇe tanvādīnām chandasi bahulam"* on P.6.4.77 (*aci śnu-dhātu-bhruvāṁ yvoriyaṅ-uvaṅau*), on which the *bhāṣya* is as follows:

इयङादिप्रकरणे तन्वादीनां छन्दसि बहुलमुपसंख्यानं कर्तव्यम् । तन्वं पुषेम । तनुवं पुषेम । विष्वं पश्य । विषुवं पश्य । स्वर्गं लोकम् । सुवर्गं लोकम् । त्र्यम्बकं यजामहे । त्रियम्बकं यजामहे ॥

So the possible nature of the *sūtra,* considering the style of Bhoja to include *gaṇapāṭha* also in the body of the *sūtra* along with the addition of *ādi* at the end of the list to indicate the *ākṛti-gaṇa,* could be: "त्रि-तनु-विषु-स्वादीनामचीयुवौ वा".

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SĀṂKHYA-DARŚANA (ALSO SĀṂKHYA-SŪTRA), WITH THE COMMENTARY BY VIJÑĀNA-BHIKṢU: AN APPRAISAL

K. S. ARJUNWADKAR*

THE SŪTRA TEXT

Bio-data

A Sanskirt work named '*Sāṃkhya-darśana*' (SD, also known as *Sāṃkhya-sūtra*) ascribed to Kapila and hence called '*Kāpila-Sāṃkhya-pravacana*' (cf. colophons at the end of chapters) commented upon by Vijñāna-bhikṣu (VB, 16th c. A.D.) appears in the list of works on the Sāṃkhya school of philosophy. My study of this text is based on an old edition of the work in reprint published in Calcutta in 1893. It consists of 526 *sūtra* style statements divided into six chapters of varying lengths (the first chapter occupying about one-third of the total volume of the work). The work can be assigned to a post-Śaṅkara date (8-9th c. A.D.) as Śaṅkara's works do not reflect knowledge of its existence as they do of Īśvara-kṛṣṇa's *Sāṃkhya-kārikā* (SK). Many illustrations and/or analogies cited by SD --- such as, for instance, that of (Jaḍa-) Bharata, Piṅgalā, the courtesan, Śuka, king Aja (eminently depicted in Kālidāsa's *Raghuvaṃśa*) : all from Ch.IV are picked up from the Purāṇa literature. It cites, though rarely, the views of the ancient masters of the Sāṃkhya school such as Pañcaśikha (V.32, VI.68) -- a name found in SK, too, -- and Sanandana (VI.69). Though it poses to be the oldest work on Sāṃkhya, SD not only knows the SK, but at times lifts phrases and even lines (at times broken up into several *sūtras*) from the latter as if they were its own (about 17 places). It also makes a covert reference, too, to SK for details SK omits (III.41).

General Features

As the reader goes through the outline of this work (see *Appendix* to this article), he

Journal of the Oriental Institute, Vol. 50, Nos. 1-4, Sept.-June 2000-2001 Issue, pp. 55-69.

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** [Abbreviations used in the article :
BS=*Brahma-sūtra*, HYP=*Haṭha-yoga-pradīpikā*, SD=*Sāṃkhya-darśana*, VB=*Vijñāna-bhikṣu*, SK=*Sāṃkhya-kārikā*, Up=Upaniṣad, YS=*Yoga-sūtra*, YYS=*Yoga-yājñavalkya-saṃhitā*.
References are made to the chapter and the *sūtra/s* respectively (e.g. V.32) of the work discussed. This makes references to specific editions unnecessary. For detailed contents of the work, see *Appendix* to this article.]

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feels that the author of SD is at pains to produce a work on the Sāṃkhya school which would bring the school to the level and style of other recognized schools like Vedānta not only on the point of the time-honoured *sūtra* form but also on that of an examination of the views of other schools on controversial points --- an aspect set aside by SK in specific terms in its concluding verse. And yet the reader often feels that the author of SD has not mastered the *sūtra* style enough which is known for utmost brevity. (The most illustrious and unrivalled instance of this characteristics is Pāṇini's *sūtras* on the grammar of the Sanskrit language). What strikes an informed reader is that the SD lifts verbatim some *sūtras* from the *Brahma-sūtras* (BS; *vide* SD III.11, IV.3) of Bādarāyaṇa as well as the *Yoga-sūtras* (YS; *vide* SD II.33, III.34, 37) of Patañjali. Another characteristics of the SD that contradicts the economical *sūtra* style is that it devotes a whole chapter (IV) to a series of standard analogies (one of them -- the snake and its cast skin -- coming from *Bṛhad-āraṇyaka* UP.IV.4.7) and popular mythological anecdotes (22 in all), besides occasional ones in other chapters (about a couple of dozens), illustrating various doctrines of the system. Last but not the least, the expression *kutarkāpasada* (the damned, dirty logician) occurring in SD VI.34 is out of tune with the literary status it aspires to attain. No renowned *sūtra* work has criticized its rival schools in such vilifying terms. The only parallel I remember from the older philosophical literature is one from Śaṅkara's commentary on the BS (II.2.28) where he condemns the opponent as the bull of a logician lacking horns and tail (*a-puccha-śṛṅgasya tārkika-balīvardasya*). But one can understand such wording in a commentatorial text where the author has to use all his weapons to defeat his opponent. Vijñāna-bhikṣu, the commentator of SD, follows in Śaṅkara's footsteps and spares no chance to censure the Śaṅkara view of the Vedānta with such terms (under SD I.22) as *Vedānti-bruva* (Vedantins by lable), *Ādhunika Māyāvāda* (modern--not Upaniṣadic -- view founded on the concept of *Māyā*), *Pracchanna-bauddha* (Buddhists in disguise, under SD I.22) and dubs their view as *akhaṇḍādvaita* (undivided non-duality, SD I.157), implying its contrast with the *sāmānyādvaita* (non-duality of genus, SD I.154) of the Sāṃkhyas.

What does the author of SD intend to establish ?

The most significant deviation of SD from SK is that the former frequently seeks support from the *Śruti* (a word used in philosophical works as an equivalent of the word Veda, there are about 20 places in SD where this word is employed), i.e., in philosophical context, the Upaniṣads, attempts to reconcile Upaniṣadic principles with the Sāṃkhya theory, and even employs some typically Vedantic terms such as *mokṣa* (I.7) and *brahman* (in the sense of pure consciousness, as explained by VB V.116, in disagreement with BS I.1.2-3) with shades of meanings deviating from its usage in Vedantic works. From an objective point of view, no serious reader can deny that some Ups. like the *Kaṭha* and *Śvetāśvatara* do

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employ some terms like *Prakṛti, Pradhāna, Puruṣa, Mahat, Avyakta* etc. which have later become the preserve of the Sāṃkhya system; but the major thrust of the Ups. is obviously on the Advaitic notions. Consequently, the risk involved in pro-Vedantic interpretation of the Upaniṣads as a whole is much less than that involved in the pro-Sāṃkhya interpretation thereof. One is amused to find in SD the phrase *nitya-śuddha-buddha-mukta-svabhāva* (I.19) frequently used by Śaṅkara in the context of the *ātman/brahman*. SD may, therefore, be said to be a work intended to bridge up the gap between the Sāṃkhya school and the time-honoured Upaniṣadic tradition. To complete the picture, SD includes in its scheme some aids to Yoga (*āsana, prāṇāyāma, dhāraṇā, dhyāna*) also, besides *abhyāsa* and *vairāgya* (III.30-36). It is thus, briefly, a 'cocktail' of themes from three schools, and displays the strong and weak points such an attempt entails. The *Bhagavad-gītā*, with a Vedānta-cum-devotional bias, might have provided SD with a prototype of such an enterprise.

What does *a-pauruṣeya* mean to SD ?

To SD, Vedas are *a-pauruṣeya,* but they are not *nitya,* eternal (V.45-46), as the traditional view goes. (It must, however, be mentioned that some Vedantic works also hold such a view in open deviation from the established view: *vide* the *Vedānta-paribhāṣā* of Dharmarāja Adhvarīndra, assigned to 16th c. A.D.) For Vedantins, *a-pauruṣeya* means 'not a human product', implying God as its source. For SD, Vedas are *a-pauruṣeya* because the *Puruṣa* from which they are said to have been emerged does not exist (V.46). SD takes the term *pauruṣeya* to mean such a work as makes one think that it is intentionally produced. Since Vedas are said to be produced unintentionally like breathing (*vide Bṛhad-āraṇyaka* Up. II.4.10, VII.5.11) from the Creator (*svayaṃbhū,* says VB, V.50), they are *a-pauruṣeya.* The Creator, of course, is not God as conceived by theistic thinkers; he is a *Puruṣa -- Mahā-puruṣa,* as VB terms him elsewhere (V.12) -- in a stage prior to liberation. SD's attempt to prove that Sāṃkhya stands on a full-fledged support of the *Śruti* prompts it even to dismiss logic-based theories for being opposed to *Śruti* (VI.34).

Justification and problems

This attempt of the author of SD has no doubt its justification as also some problems. On the justification side may be cited an observation from a renowned Vedānta work, the *Pañcadaśī* (VI.228) of Vidyāraṇya (13th c.A.D.). It clearly states the major points of disagreement between Vedānta and the other two systems in the following words:

'The three systems-- Sāṃkhya, Yoga and Vedānta -- would merge into one if the first two give up their insistence on the following dogmas: (i) the souls are many, (ii) the world (including *Prakṛti,* the Matter) is real, and (iii) God (in Yoga) is different from the soul.'

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The most obvious one of the problems SD faces is the Upaniṣadic concept of the principle of Self --- that it is one in all bodies. This concept occurs in the Upaniṣads so repeatedly and in such a variety of ways that an intelligent reader has little doubt about the intention of the Upaniṣadic seers. When, therefore, SD views this unity to mean genus (*jāti,* I.154), -- as, for example, the word 'man' in singular number in the statement, 'Man is moral', -- to accommodate it under the Sāṃkhya roof making room for many *Puruṣas* the informed reader is convinced of the prejudicial attempt of its author to present the Sāṃkhya system as arising from the sacred literature. This attempt is comparable to that of the Dvaita school of the Vedānta to relate itself to Upaniṣadic literature when it reads an elided 'a' in the oft-quoted *Chāndogya* (Ch.VI) passage, '*sa ātmā(a-)tat tvam asi*' -- a clear case of interpretative tricks/acrobatics. It is a puzzle how to reconcile the two views that *Puruṣas* are infinite in number and yet they are all-pervasive (I.48-51). The view that the world is real militates against the Up. view that everything is *Brahman* which alone is the reality. This necessitates Śaṅkara to relate world as well as God to the lower, the phenomenal (*vyāvahārika*), and not the absolute (*pāramārthika*), level of reality.

God Accommodated

Yoga without God as a privileged *Puruṣa* or spirit would have been more consistent with the strictly rational metaphysical outlook it borrows from the Sāṃkhyas; but, even while denying God (I.93), SD clearly deviates from the Sāṃkhya school on this point. However, in its attempt to reconcile the two systems and align them with the *Śruti,* SD conceives of two possible types of God -- (a) *nitya,* eternal (as VB calls it), which the Yoga school maintains but the Sāṃkhya school rejects, and (b) *janya,* made (as VB classes them), which SD proposes without substantially contradicting the Sāṃkhya view on the point, calls the category 'such a God' (*īdṛśeśvara,* III.57), meaning a *Puruṣa* at an advanced stage of spiritual development, elsewhere termed *svayaṃbhū* (V.50), and makes room for an unlimited series of Gods on a secondary level. When expressed in the Sāṃkhya terminology, such a God is none but a spirit that undergoes merging into the *Prakṛti* (*Prakṛti-laya* or *kāraṇa-laya,* III.54, a typically Sāṃkhya concept, having no parallel in Upaniṣads or Vedantic works) in the preceding creation and emerges from it in the next as 'God',--- elsewhere, VB calls such a God '*mahā-Puruṣa*' having the principle *mahat* as his adjunct (*upādhi,* under V.12). The mere proximity of this God makes the *Prakṛti* operate in the manner of iron files in the proximity of the magnet, -- a standard analogy in Sāṃkhya works. It is in this sense that God is described as omniscient and omnipotent (*sarva-jñāna-śaktimat*). This explanation leads to another difficulty: while the Sāṃkhya system gives the credit of activating the *Prakṛti* by their mere presence to the whole class of the *Puruṣas,* SD reserves this privilege for a limited class of them. All such attempts at reconciliation of diverse systems involve an

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inherent danger of a range of inconsistencies. The basic inconsistency is the result of relying on universal perception/experience and inference as the decisive means of knowledge and, at the same time accommodating mythical theories such as a Creator whose presence activates the *Prakṛti* to evolve in the form of the world. Yogic powers (*siddhis*) that cannot be established on the support of the basic means of knowledge and yet accommodated by SD are similarly out of tune.

Householders as Yogins

Similar to the attempt of accommodating God in the Sāṃkhya system is the attempt of SD to accommodate householders on the path of spiritual practice. In this attempt, SD falls in line with the '*Yoga-yājñavalkya-saṃhitā*' (YYS), a much later work on Yoga posing to be an old one, which attempts to elevate to the high status of a Yogin even householders with full-fledged families, faithfully following the orthodox ways of life. If we ignore VB's interpretation, even SD joins hands with the YYS in making the status of a Yogin available to householders. In III.32, it includes one's duties, *sva-karma,* among the aids of meditation. To leave no scope for doubt about its intention, SD explains *sva-karma* in III.35 as duties prescribed for one's stage of life, *svāśrama-vihita-karma.* VB's explanation that *karma* here stands for *yama* and *niyama* as well as *pratyāhāra* -- common to all stages of life, thus accounting for the entire scheme of the aids of Yoga in Patañjali's work, is against all commentatorial ethics. In support of his explanation, VB actually cites the *sūtra* from YS (II.29) giving the list of the aids of Yoga. This is funny, if not irrelevant. Thibaut, in his criticism of the commentaries on Bādarāyaṇa's *Brahma-sūtras,* raised the question: 'Is Śaṅkara faithful to Bādarāyaṇa ?' In a like manner, one may ask: 'Is VB faithful to SD?' Anything can be included in or excluded from anything if such freedom as VB claims is allowed to commentators. Actually, VB cites elsewhere (under I.56) an unidentified smṛti passage admonishing that one must perform one's prescribed duties till one is liberated, -- a context where prescribed duties are not *yamas* and *niyamas* even for VB.

What SD and YYS owe to Haṭha Yoga

Haṭha Yoga as represented in Svātmārāma's *Haṭha-Yoga-Pradīpikā* (HYP) also falls in line with the two texts mentioned above in accommodating householders in Yoga, -- nay, it goes a step ahead and guides householder Yogins in re-injecting the ejaculated semen into the body as part of spiritual practice called *Vajroli* (HYP III.83...). Is it possible that SD and YYS and similar works have been inspired by the *Haṭha Yoga* cult to accommodate householders under the Yoga roof, ignoring the obnoxious and self-torturing practices followed in the cult ? What leads me to this conjecture is the frame-story of the YYS where the great sage Yājñavalkya expounds Yoga to his wives, Maitreyī and Gārgī. That the second

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name as his 'wife' is the discovery of YYS is clear from the fact that this relation between the sage and Gārgī is unknown to the *Bṛhad-āraṇyaka Upaniṣad,* the ancient text in which the three figures appear prominently.

A ground for the date of SD

The unanimity of views in SD and YYS about the obligatory status of the prescribed duties cannot be a mere coincidence, as it concerns a crucial point; obviously, one of the two must be the borrower. This point may help in fixing their relative dates. Considering the presence of the details of *Haṭha Yoga* in YYS and their absence in SD, I am inclined to assign YYS to a date later than that of SD. (I have dealt with the issues related to the status of YYS in Yoga literature in a separate article due for publication in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Mumbai*). The third text related to this issue is the voluminous work, *Yoga-vāśiṣṭha* (YV) or *Vāsiṣṭha-rāmāyaṇa* or *Mokṣopāya,* which recommends a combination of knowledge and action as a means to liberation. This explains why Vijñāna-bhikṣu repeatedly cites passages from this text in his commentary on SD. As the date of YV can be fixed with much certainty (12th c.A.D., for reasons I have discussed in a separate article published in the Annals of the BORI, 2002), both SD and YYS can be assigned a date after that of YV and even HYP.

Knowledge combined with activity

One wonders what makes VB to explain *svāśrama-vihita-karma* to mean *yama, niyama* etc. as stated above. It is his awareness of a later statement in SD that the combination of knowledge and activity cannot be accepted to lead to liberation, as knowledge is real and activity unreal (III.25-26). This view contradicts the view recommending a combination of knowledge and activity occurring after a few *sūtras.* It is laudable on the part of VB to try to save the text he is commenting on; but at what price ? The best way to accommodate prescribed duties in the scheme of spiritual development is the one expounded by the *Bhagavad-gītā,* -- that doing one's duties with no claim to their rewards purifies one's mind. We do not find anything matching with this concept in the authentic older works on Sāṃkhya.

Other deviations from the Upaniṣads : subtle body

Leaving aside attempts of reconciliation, one finds in SD some views not in agreement with those of the Upaniṣads. One such view is that the constituents of the subtle body are, according to the Sāṃkhya system, produced from the principle of Ego, and not from the elements. (II.20) The only problem is that this view is not supported by extant Upaniṣads as SD claims. In keeping with the commentator's ingenuity, VB observes that the supporting

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passage referred to in II.20 is now lost but can be inferred from other evidences like the teaching tradition (*ācārya-vākyāt*) and the works of authors like Manu. No critical reader would accept such explanations; and even VB would find himself in a precarious situation if the rival schools were to offer such proofs. Another Sāṃkhya deviation from the Upaniṣadic view is the position of the five breaths (*prāṇas*) in the scheme of the evolution. In Sāṃkhya, they are functions, of the threefold inner organ (SD II.31), and not the constituents of the subtle body (*sūkṣma* or *liṅga*), as is evident from the text. However, with five *tanmātras,* the subtle body consists of 17 constituents in Sāṃkhya (III.9). Vedānta gives the same number of constituents of the subtle body, but replaces *tanmātrās* with five breaths (*prāṇas*). VB, however, thinks that the five breaths are implied in the threefold inner organ (*antaḥ-karaṇa*) in the Sāṃkhya scheme of the subtle body (under III.9). Vedānta does not view Ego as the cause but as a co-product of the elements along with the mind. The Sāṃkhya-Yoga position about the breaths seems to be at the root of the Yoga plan of controlling the mind by controlling the breaths (*prāṇāyāma*).

Gross and root/seed bodies

Classical Vedānta conceives of two more bodies for the soul: gross (*sthūla*), root (*kāraṇa*). The Sāṃkhya term for the gross body is parental (*mātā-pitṛja*). Vedantic concept of the root/seed body is the *a-vidyā* itself, while the Sāṃkhyas term it *adhiṣṭhāna,* the basic (III.11-12), and inform us that it consists of the subtle variety of the gross elements (? VB on III.12). The Vedānta scheme attempts at an analytical view of bodies that bind the soul during the three states of consciousness, -- waking (gross), dream (subtle), deep sleep (root); one wonders what makes Sāṃkhyas conceive of the 'basic body' as distinct from the subtle one. In an open disagreement with the Vedantins, SD asserts that the gross body is made up of the element of earth only (V.112), and not of five elements (V.102). Another point is about the types of gross bodies: while Vedantins would like to class them into four (*jarāyuja,* etc.), SD would add two more: *sāṃkalpika* and *sāṃsiddhika* (V.111), illustrated by those of sage Sanaka etc, and by those created by miraculous powers (*siddhis,* which are not eternal, V.82). Another classification is (V.124): *karma-deha* (e.g. great sages), *bhoga-deha* (e.g. god Indra), *ubhaya-deha* (e.g. great kings).

THE COMMENTARY

General nature of Vijñāna-bhikṣu's commentary

Vijñāna-bhikṣu is perhaps the only author who takes up SD, as he does Patañjali's work on Yoga, for a detailed, scholarly exposition, thus offering his studies on the twin systems. He has taken as basis for his exposition, as stated towards the conclusion of his Prologue, the fourfold plan of the treatment of Yoga indicated by Patañjali and elaborated

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by Vyāsa ('Vyāsa-deva' as Vijñāna-bhikṣu would like to venerate him, see his com. on I.1) based on the scheme of the medical system: (a) disease, (b) cause of disease, (c) cure, (d) means of cure. Erudite and systematic, he sums up the topics of every chapter in a verse at the end of the chapter. In his commentary on SD, he makes frequent references to his commentaries on the BS (cf. Prologue) and YS (SD I.87, 99). He is no doubt a learned scholar, deep drunk in Sanskrit literature, particularly in works on philosophy and popular compendious works (Purāṇas) treating of philosophical topics, as revealed by his frequent references to them. Following is a list of his sources of citations: *Mahābhārata,* 'Smṛti' (for unspecified texts), *Gītā, Pārāśara (-upa-purāṇa), Brahma-sūrtra (Bhūmikā), Yoga-sūtra, Sāṃkhyakārikā,* Upaniṣads, *Īśvara-gītā* (different from the *Bhagavad-gītā*), *Nyāya-sūtra, Bhāgavatapurāṇa, (Yoga-)Vāsiṣṭha, Liṅga-purāṇa, Viṣṇu-, Saura-, Padma-, Mārkaṇḍeya-, Mokṣadharma, Kaurma-, Gāruḍa-, Nāradīya-, Manu(-smṛti).* Not infrequently, he makes references also to his own commentaries on Bādarāyaṇa's *Brahma-sūtras* (Introduction) and Patañjali's *Yoga-sūtras* (I.87). However, an informed reader is amused to find him quoting Purāṇas in support of points under discussion in SD, a purely philosophical work, because Purāṇas are compendia which, by their very nature, are the borrowers.

VB's censure of Śaṅkara

Apart from the absence of a historical perspective on his part, VB cites from the Purāṇas such views as are intended to slander, openly, the non-orthodox schools of philosophy. One such passage from the *Padma-Purāṇa* presented as a dialogue between god *Īśvara* (Śiva) and his consort, Pārvatī, and occurring in his introduction to the work enlists schools of philosophy its author does not approve of, and observes that they are promulgated by the god himself to misguide the sinful atheists, the demons, finally dubbing Śaṅkara's school as the Buddhist school in disguise. The only schools spared are Vedānta (called the school of the *Brahman,* -- not of Śaṅkara, of course, which is damned in unequivocal terms) and Yoga, which, with Sāṃkhya, belongs to the category of 'the most favoured' of the other schools. What about the atheistic outlook of the Sāṃkhya ? Another Purāṇa passage mediates, the one from Parāśara, advocating that schools like Nyāya are not to be discarded totally; they too are acceptable except for the views not in conformity with the orthodox philosophy which VB favours. Though siding with the orthodox view, VB agrees (under SD I.6) with the view of the *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa* that Vedic ritual is substantially irreligous -- *trayī-dharmam a-dharmākhyam.*

Views on *a-vidyā* and *māyā*

As an avowed rival of Śaṅkara, VB regards *a-vidyā* to be real like a pot (*asman-mate tvavidyāyāh...ghaṭādi-vad vāstavatvena....,* under I.22). This challenges the view of Śaṅkara's

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school which regards it as neither real nor unreal, and hence indeterminable (*sad-asadbhyām anirvacanīya*). But when the *Saura Purāṇa* employs the same phraseology to describe *māyā,* VB exerts his commentatorial skill and explains the passage to mean that it is unreal in the sense that it constantly keeps changing (I.26), -- thus he brings it in line with the Sāṃkhya view about *Prakṛti.* He would, however, like to reserve the term *māyā* for *Prakṛti* and *a-vidyā* for *aviveka* or *viparyaya,* dispelled by knowledge (I.69). Faithful to the Sāṃkhya position about the *Prakṛti,* VB gives to *Prakṛti* the credit of both worldly experience of pleasure and pain as well as liberation on the part of *Puruṣa* (under I.58). On this point, it is not VB but the tradition of the Sāṃkhya school itself which stands on a weak support. The Sāṃkhya school has, as it were, entangled itself in a net of its own making. Let us see how.

A mine of analogies

The *Puruṣa* by its very nature is inactive; all action has thus to be assigned to the *Prakrti.* But how can the insentient *Prakṛti* act on its own, and that, too, for a purpose (I.58)? The reply is: it owes its action to the mere presence of the *Puruṣa.* This presumption is founded not on any logical proof but on an analogy: is it not a fact that iron files in a wound (*śalya,* I.96), themselves incapable of action, move out by the mere presence of a magnet? (This, incidentally, would favour a post-Suśruta date for SD.) Does not a blind man, himself incapable of journey in the right direction, walk to his destination when guided by the lame man sitting on his shoulder ? Does not the milk of the cow flow for the calf ? Other analogies in the series are: that of the servant and the master (I.105), the heated iron (I.99), cooks and the king (III.16,63), a slave from the embryonic state (III.51), a camel carrying bags of saffron (III.58), etc. Some of the analogies are obviously the contribution by the author of SD, as supported by a whole chapter (IV) devoted to analogies, some of which are as old as *Dhammapada* (IV.9, 10, 14). These analogies *vis-a-vis* those in SK may provide a fertile topic for a study. The author of SD is indeed imaginative; and he owes this gift perhaps to *Yoga-vāsiṣṭha* with which he shares his thesis of the combination of knowledge and activity, as discussed earlier. Such analogies are, to say the least, poetry; and if poetry is acceptable as proof in serious discussions, anything can be proved or disproved. It may be a minor point, but it is worth noting that the analogies given involve objects both insentient or both sentient, while in the point under discussion, one (*Puruṣa*) is sentient and other (*Prakṛti*) insentient. Śaṅkara has discussed these analogies in the relevant part of his commentary on the BS. Talking of analogies, SD explains as verbal the ascription to *Puruṣa* of the causal activity of the *Prakṛti,* on the lines of the victory or defeat of the soldiers in a battle to their master, the king, and the effect of the potency (*śakti*) to the man who possesses it (*śaktimat*), supported by a citation from the *Kūrma-purāṇa.* This is followed by a statement that potency is not different from the man who has it (II.4), implying that the *Prakṛti* is not different from

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the *Puruṣas*. This is little short of confusion . The question arising from the Sāṃkhya stand on the activity of the *Prakṛti*, viz. how the insentient *Prakṛti* can have a purpose (II.1) at all, remains unanswered. When SD cites as proof verbal conventions like 'my body' (*mamedaṃ śarīram*, VI.3, indicating that the soul is different from the body) and tries to distinguish them from others like 'the body of the stone figure' (VI.4), the reader feels that SD is on a slippery ground, for, as even VB points out, the soul is different from the body despite the conventional reference to their unity like 'I am happy (*ahaṃ sukhī*, under I.65)'.

Source of the analogy of a *piśāca*

An analogy in SD IV.2 is that of a ghost/goblin (*piśāca*) which is said to have obtained knowledge by listening to what was intended for another. VB explains it as referring to the *Bhagavad-gītā* context. VB gives no reference to the source of the anecdote of a *piśāca* being present at the time Krishna gave his discourse to Arjuna. However, the *Māhātmya* (glorification) of the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* occurring in the *Padma Purāṇa* does give a story of this nature.

Uncritical view about *śruti*

What surprises one is the fact that VB cites as *śruti* under I.45 and I.58 a well known passage from Gauḍapāda's work on the *Māṇḍūkya Up.*: '*na nirodho na cotpattir...*'. Of course, he has to exert all his interpretative skills to make the passage amenable to the Sāṃkhya view. But still the problem remains unsolved as the passage cited is preceded and followed by many more that would pose a problem for him. It would have been easier for him to dismiss the passage as a fabrication of pseudo-Vedantins. What must have misled Vijñāna-bhikṣu and others to regard part of Gauḍapāda's work as constituting the original *Māṇḍūkya* Up. is that the first chapter of Gauḍapāda's work, being a commentary in a verse form, is interspersed with the original Up. which is in plain prose. This has resulted in his acceptance as *Śruti* of only the first chapter of Gauḍapāda's total work in four chapters. At one place, he cites a passage as forming part of *Śruti* but probably from later works which do style themselves as Ups. (e.g. the *Garbha-Upaniṣad*), but not found in the older Ups. (VI.59); at two other places, he admits that the *Śruti* passage referred to by SD is now lost (II.20, V.87). The context of the latter case is that of the ego as the source of organs, -- a typically Sāṃkhya concept in conflict with the normal Upaniṣadic view which holds elements as their source. It must have been this uncritical outlook that promoted him to take the present work on Sāṃkhya as ancient, and comment on it as a small but authentic heritage of a system almost lost to us, -- to put it in his own words: 'The Sāṃkhya system, -- the moon of knowledge, -- devoured by the sun (mouth/jaws, -- by emending *kālārka-* to

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kālāsya-; or does the expression *kālārka* mean *rāhu*, the mythical demon causing lunar eclipse?) of time, was reduced only to a digit. I am restoring it to its full form with my nectar-like words.'(Prologue to his commentary, introductory verse 5)

CONCLUSION

The *sūtra* style: commentator's paradise

The intention of the author of SD has already been discussed as aligning the Sāṃkhya system to Upaniṣads. Extending this thread further, we may say that VB's additional intention is to criticise Śaṅkara's school of Vedānta, and virtually reconcile the Vedānta with Sāṃkhya and Yoga as they are, and not, as noted earlier, with a modification as the author of Pañcadaśī observes. This was made possible by the scope the condensed nature of the *sūtra* style offers to the commentators and the semantic tools available to them as far as discursive subjects are concerned. The matter is different in the case of subjects like grammar even if presented in the *sūtra* style. Differences of views in the interpretation of Pāṇini's *sūtras* on Sanskrit grammar are marginal and minor. That is the reason why philosophical schools with polar difference could claim the same *sūtra* text (e.g. *Brahma-sūtras* of Bādarāyaṇa) as their basic text. For a serious scholar not committed to any particular school, the test is not whether a particular interpretation is faithful to ancient texts on the subject, but to what extent the system as a whole satisfies rational demands. It is from this stand that Śaṅkara's presentation of his philosophical system still appeals to scholars despite his censure from his rivals that he is a crypto-Buddhist.

The root of different outlooks

The problem of rivalry among the schools of philosophy is rooted in the fact that the search for the ultimate reality which is the goal of philosophy was pursued with different outlooks regarding the tools of search from the very early times reflected in the oldest philosophical literature, the Upaniṣads. Two such outlooks are discernible in this literature: mystic and rational. The first outlook arrived at the conclusion that the ultimate principle is one, and it is sentient, diversified by multiple adjuncts (*upādhis*) called bodies constituted of matter which is ultimately dissoluble in the ultimate principle named *Brahman* and *Ātman*. The second outlook arrived at the conclusion that the ultimate principles are two, sentient and insentient, which are mutually exclusive. These outlooks perpetuated in later times with distinct identities as different schools of philosophy, Vedānta and Sāṃkhya.

Reality and relativity

In defense of Śaṅkara, it may be argued that, as the Nyāya school points out, the number One alone can be real, as it stands on its own, while the successive numbers depend

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on number One as their foundation and are hence relative (*apekṣā-buddhi-kṛta*). One is always One; but when there are ten Ones, there can be scope for the successive number designations: two, three etc. till we arrive at ten. Two realities is as irrational as two skies. For Śaṅkara, therefore, the Sāṃkhya analysis is incomplete as it is not carried to its logical end. Reality and relativity are for him mutually exclusive; and two realities certainly come under the purview of relativity. The domain of Reality begins where relativity ends. Intellectual knowledge, being necessarily verbal, belongs to the realm of relativity; experiential knowledge does not. Search for Reality is complete when one crosses the bounds of relativity. The Upaniṣadic seers warn: fear arises when a Second emerges (*dvitīyād vai bhayaṃ bhavati, Bṛhad-āraṇyaka* I.4.2). This supports the conjecture above about the possible journey of these seers to non-duality.

Levels of realities

Originating in the Upaniṣadic thought complex, champions of the schools as represented by their authentic texts attempt to interpret the Ups., with whatever interpretative tools they could command, in such a way as to be able to claim that the concerned champions are the genuine heirs to the ancient thought. This is the most natural way to popular recognition in a society which regards as real and authentic what is rooted in ancient sacred literature. This tendency prompted Śaṅkara to view reality at three levels: ultimate (*pāramārthika*), worldly/practical (*vyāvahārika*) and illusory (*prātibhāsika*), -- in other words, reality has an upward ladder from the illusory to the ultimate. One can reach the higher level only when one steps out of the lower one; only then one can realize the unreality of the phenomena existing at the lower level. The truth of this hypothesis can be verified in our everyday life: things we experience in a dream are not unreal as long as we are in that state; they are unreal only when we are awake. Pursuing this clue, Śaṅkara argues that events at the practical level would be unreal when one would wake into the ultimate level where there is no trace of worldly identities. A glimpse into this state can be had in the state of deep sleep when one is aware of the pure nature (consciousness) of the self. As universal experience is the supreme proof, the framework of Śaṅkara's theory stands intact, whatever the abuse his rivals fling at him. To take events of life as the unchallengeable reality and the foundation of philosophical theory leads the philosopher to regard matter and spirit as mutually exclusive principles leading him to argue that the worldly things do exist for others even if the one in deep sleep is not aware of them. In a like manner, the world exists for others if not for the one who is liberated, and hence, it is too a reality. We actually find such an argument in Patañjali's YS (II.22).

Fundamentals on which the schools agree

Whatever the outlook, the concept of liberation is a common heritage of the two; and

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it is contained in the dissolution of one's worldly identity which is the cause of misery. The way to its dissolution is to withdraw one's mind from worldly objects and fix it on the self in its pure nature which is the essence of meditation. This shows that, whatever their differences regarding the nature of reality, Vedānta and Sāṃkhya-Yoga are unanimous as far as liberation and its means are concerned. This is like two physicians differing in the diagnosis of an ailment but agreeing on its treatment !

What happens to the mind ?

What happens to the mind which keeps company with the spiritual practitioner in his meditative efforts ? The mind is a tool for liberation up to a certain stage; but in perfect liberation, it too gets dissolved in its cause, being part of matter, and not of the self. For Śaṅkara, there is no need to care for the unreal which is the result of wrong perception. Who cares for what happens to the snake when the real rope is realized ? If at all an answer is insisted on, the simplest one would be that the wrong perception is eliminated by the right one.

Appendix

The contents

Vijñāna-bhikṣu summarizes contents of the work succinctly in a verse at the end of each chapter as follows :

I Four heads of the system plan are laid bare. They are
(a) Misery, (b) The cause of misery, (c) Release from misery,
(d) The means of release.

II The 17 constituents of the subtle body evolving from the Ultimate Matter, *Pradhāna.*

III Discriminative knowledge establishing total dissolution of Matter, leading to the highest level of detachment.

IV Illustrating aspects of discriminative knowledge with analogies and mythological episodes.

V Criticism of rival schools.

VI Principal tenets of the system detailed in earlier chapters.

Following are more detailed contents of the work :

I The Concept of *Puruṣārtha,* the ultimate goal of life : total release from misery.

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(1-6) The nature of bondage: incurred by the spirit through contact with Matter. Criticism of other schools on the point of the cause of bondage. Denial of the concept of *avidyā* (what of *'aviveka'* of the Sāṃkhyas ?) or *karman* as the cause. (7-55) Way to the annihilation of the *aviveka*. (56-59) Inference, the means of *viveka*. (60) The contents of *viveka:* 25 principles, and how inference helps one progressively to know them. (61-77) Criticism of rival views on the point of evolution from *Prakṛti*. (78-82) Vedic ritual cannot help. (83-86) Means (perception, inference, word) and the machinery (knower, means, object) of knowledge. (87-107) Search and definition of hh basic principles, discussion and conclusions. (108-164).

II. Problems that haunt the concept of release. (1-9) Sequence of evolution (of the constituents of the subtle body): starting from *mahat* and ending with five elements. (10-11) Space and time. (12) Products of the Intellect. Products of the Ego (not of the five elements, 20): organs (13-25, 28-29) and mind (26-27), and their areas of operation. Threefold (*mahat, ahaṃkāra, manas*) inner organ (30). Its function: five breaths (31). Five operations of *mahat* (intellect, cf. YS: *pramāṇa, viparyaya, ...*33). Their cessation: release/ restoration to original nature of the spirit. Root of evolution: past actions (*adṛṣṭa, karman* 46) of the spirit. (36) Intellect is supreme in the (subtle) body complex. (38-47)

III Evolution of the gross elements from the subtle elements and the successive gross body produced from parents. (1-2, 6-7) The two bodies lead the spirit to bondage till it acquires discriminative knowledge (*viveka*). (3-5) Definition, relation, comparison and contrast between the two bodies. (7-16) The gross body: criticism of other views. (17-22) Causes of release and bondage: right knowledge (*viveka*) and erroneous knowledge (*viparyaya*). (23-26) Place of meditation in spiritual practice. (27-29) Yogic practice (*dhyāna, dhāraṇā, prāṇāyāma, āsana, vairāgya, abhyāsa*) and prescribed duties (*sva-karman*) as aids to knowledge. (30-36) Aspects of erroneous knowledge detailed and contrasted with their opposites. (37-45) The span of the world of *Prakṛti*. (46-55) Two types of Gods: one acceptable. (56-57) *Prakṛti:* the selfless (*parārtha*) source of bondage and release of the spirit. (58-74) Levels of *viveka* crowning in *jīvan-mukti*. (75-84)

IV Points made so far are illustrated with analogies and episodes. (1-32)

Analogies: Father and son 4. Hawk 5. Snake-skin 6. Severed hand 7. Bracelet of a virgin 9-10. Snake 12. Bee 13. Arrow-maker 14. Worldly practice 15. Female frog 16. Sacrificers 21-22. Swan and milk 22-23. Parrot 25-26. Dirty mirror 30. Lotus 31. Power (*siddhi*)-achievers 32.

Episodes: Prince 1. Ghost 2. King Bharata 8. Piṅgalā 11. Virocana 17. Indra 18-19. Vāmadeva 20. Sage Saubhari 27-28. King Aja 29.

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V In defense of the use of an auspicious word (*atha*) to begin the work. (1) Examination of the concept of God in other schools. (2-12) Examination of the concept of *avidyā*. (13-19) Past actions (*dharma* etc.) accommodated in the system. (20-26) Discussion on inference. (27-36) Verbal knowledge. (37-44) Authority of the Vedas discussed. (45-51) Examination of *khyātis*. (52-56) Examination of the *sphoṭa* theory. (57-60) Examination of the theory of unity of the Self. (61-68) Mind: characteristics. (69-73) Release (*mukti*) : characteristics. (73-86) Examination of the concepts of other schools and statement of the Sāṃkhya school : atoms. (87-90); genus (91-93); resemblance (*sādṛśya*) as a means of knowledge (94-98); inherent relation (*samavāya*) (99-100); action (101); bodies (102-103); operations of organs (104-110); gross body emerges from the earth (111-115); release (*mukti*) compared with the contrasted from other states (116-120); plants have life (121-122); another classification of bodies (123-124); fourth body (of the *viraktas,* acc. to VB, 125); no almighty God (126-127), but Yogic powers recognised (128); no consciousness emerges from elements (129).

VI Recapitulation: Aspects of the self (1-11); erroneous knowledge and release (12-23); aspects of Yoga practice (24-31); *Prakṛti* the selfless, ultimate cause (32-40); aspects of the world (41-42); aspects of bondage and release (43-44); plurality of souls does not violate *Śruti* view of non-duality (45-51); world is real (52-53); activity belongs to ego (54-55); levels short of release (56-59); body-soul relation rejected (60-63); ego, not God, is the creator (64); cause of the contact/relation (servant-and-master) between the matter and the soul (65-69); ultimate goal reiterated (70).

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METALS IN ANCIENT INDIA

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In Chemistry, a substance with characteristic properties of high electrical and thermal conductivity, as well as metallic lustre, malleability and ductility is called metal.[1] Gold, silver, iron, lead, tin, brass are some important metals which are referred to in the ancient Indian literature.

This paper, briefly covers a period from Vedic to Puranic literature. For analytical purposes it is divided into four sections: (a) metals- origin and uses (b) beliefs and symbolism (c) metallurgy and alloys (d) medicine and alchemy.

(a) ORIGIN AND USES :

Gold was the most important and valuable metal for Vedic Indians. It was always associated with gods. Thus the horses of sun are gold-skinned, (AV-XII.2.8), the helmet of Maruts is golden (RV-II.34.3), their chariot is golden (RV-IV 6.4, VIII 5.28); in short all that is connected with gods, is of gold. Gold, having beautiful, charming colour (*suvarṇa*), ornaments were made of it. Golden necklace, (AV-V.17.14) and ear-rings (RV-VIII.78.3) are mentioned. The word *niṣka,* occurring in the Vedic literature denoted a golden ornament for the neck or breast. In later literature it meant a coin, varying in value at different times[2]. It was obtained from the river-beds. Therefore Indus is called golden (RV-X.75.8) and of golden stream. (RV-VI.61.7). Gold, being sun-metal, is also said to be originated from fire. (*Taittirīya Saṁhitā* VI, 1.7.1, *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* II 1.1.5, *Mahābhārata, Anuśāsanaparva* 85.85-86). Manu (5.113) says, Gold and Silver are produced from the combination of fire and water. The intrinsic value of gold, its brilliance, has obviously connected it to fire and the sun.

Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa states that metals arose from the divided body of Indra[3]. Similar notion is found in Pahlavi Buddhism, according to which gold, silver, brass, tin, lead arose from various members of dead Gayomart[4]. Mythologically, it is interesting to note that, in

Journal of the Oriental Institute, Vol. 50, Nos. 1-4, Sept.-June 2000-2001 Issue, pp. 71-76.

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1. *The New Encyclopaedia of Britannica,* Vol.VI, p.827
2. Williams Monier, *A Sanskrit English Dictionary,* Reprint 1995, Delhi, p.562
3. Śat.Br.XII.7.1.7
4. Hastings James (ed.), *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics,* (ERP), Vol. VIII, p.589

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the Puranic literature, it is a common belief that Viṣnu killed his devotee Guḍākeśa from whose blood, bones and flesh, gold, silver and copper were produced respectively[5].

Gold and silver being the most malleable metals, ornaments, vessels etc. were made of these. Yāska, in one of his etymologies of gold, pinpoints this property of gold, saying that gold is called *hiraṇya* as it can be stretched (*āyamyamānam*)[6].

Ayas, is the next, oft-referred to metal. *Ayas* normally means iron. Some other terms, used to denote the hard metal, are - *loha, lohitāyas, śyāma, kārṣṇāyas, tikṣṇadhātu* etc. Keith feels that these names denote specific metals, e.g. *loha* is copper, *kārṣṇāyas* is iron and so on and so forth[7]. However, according to many, *ayas* is more or less a generic name for metal; it indicated copper as well as bronze, and that it was *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* that gave an unequivocal evidence for the first time regarding the distinction between copper and iron[8].

Iron-tipped arrows, iron-pillared chariots of Mitra and Varuṇa, iron teeth of Maruts, the mid-air deities, iron vessels, etc. are mentioned in the Vedic literature. Pāṇini speaks of an iron-pot or a boiler (*ayaskumbhī*) and a blacksmith. (Pā.Sū. VIII.3.46). *Vājasaneyī Saṁhitā* also mentions blacksmith as *ayastapa* (30.14).

Though in the Vedic literature iron is associated with gods, in Puranic literature it is copper that is divine and holy. The ritual worship of almost all the gods invariably consists of copper vessels. Why gods, even manes are worshipped during *śrāddha* in the vessels of gold, silver or copper[9]. Various weapons were also made of metals like sword, axe, spear, helmet, coat of mail, lance, etc. Metals were used to make the images of gods as well. Lead, being soft, malleable and heavy, images of god were made of it. It was also used in sorcery. An effigy of enemy made of lead, was pierced and dismembered so that the enemy would suffer accordingly[10].

(b) BELIEFS AND SYMBOLISM

Gold being bright shining metal, it is closely associated with the sun, the life principle. As such its regular use either externally or internally is believed to enable man to lead a long and healthy life. If gold is connected with sun, silver is with the moon, throughout the

5. *Varāha Purāṇa* 129.22ff.
6. *Nirukta* II.3
7. Keith A.B., *Vedic Index of Names and Subjects,* MLBD, Delhi, 1958
8. Chakravarti Dilip, 'Iron in Early Indian Literature', *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland,* No.1, 1979, pp. 22-29
9. Dange S.A., *Encyclopaedia of Puranic Beliefs and Practices,* Vol.III, p.1019, Delhi, 1987
10. Joshi Mahadevshastri, *Bhāratīya Saṁskṛti Kośa,* Vol.IV, Bhāratīya Saṁskṛti Kośa Maṇḍala, Poona, 1910, p.609

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world. Gold being very precious, it was always considered to be the metal of kings and gods; whereas the hard metal iron was regarded as the metal of tiller, a farmer. According to the colour and the properties, metals are analogically connected with various things. The Greeks, for example, call jaundice, the golden disease and heal it on the homeopathic principle with a decoction of gold.[11]

The Chinese have tales of silver-men and of women in white, who, when attacked and knocked down, disappeared and silver mines were found on that spot. Tin is classed by the Chinese between silver and lead. Because of its tender qualities, it is believed to be produced by the influence of feminine principle in nature; whereas silver having the same properties of glossiness, lustre, etc. is said to be influenced by the masculine principle in nature.[12]

According to the Indian astrological sciences, metals are called to be the planets on earth and accordingly their mutual association is established. Thus sun etc. seven planets after whom the days of the week are named, are associated respectively with gold, silver, iron, mercury, tin, copper and lead.[13]

One most common belief regarding gold, which prevails even today, is to place a piece of gold in the mouth of a dead person. This noble yellow metal is connected with vitality and life principle; as such it is believed that it would assist the dead in revivification and delay decomposition. Similar common belief regarding iron is, that it being the hardest of all the metals, its mere presence is capable of driving away evil forces and spirits. The most vulnerable beings, being the newly born child and its mother, something made of iron, a key, knife etc, is placed in the lying-in-chamber for the safety and security of the mother and the child.

Iron, being black, is associated with the god of death. If a dying man gives an axe, staff, sword, or dagger of iron as a gift, it's believed that Yama spares his life.[14] If he gives iron equal to his weight, he doesn't go to hell.[15] God Śani is also associated with iron. A person who places an iron image of Śani head-down in a vessel filled with oil and uses that oil before bath, is spared by the malicious planet.[16] Iron is thus useful for sympathetic magic; but for rituals, it is considered as inauspicious. Purāṇas state that the food served to the manes in iron vessels is partaken by the demons.[17]

11. Hasting James (ed.), *op.cit.*
12. *Ibid*
13. Joshi Mahadevashatri, *op.cit.*
14. *Garuḍa Purāṇa* II.20.19-22
15. *Agni Purāṇa* 211. 22,23
16. *Skanda Purāṇa,* VI. 174, 85-86
17. Dange, S.A., *op.cit.*, p.1023

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(c) METALLURGY AND ALLOYS :

Fire and metallurgy are two main principles of material culture. With the art of extracting metal from ore, human life got revolutionized. Metallurgy was known to the Indians from very ancient times. Coins and vessels of mixed metals found in the excavations at Mohenjodaro, Harrappa and Kalibagan, are proof to this. Articles of molten metals found in the ruins of Pāṭaliputra, modern Patna reveal the fact that this art was known to the people prior to the Maurya rule. This is the reason why references to this are found in the *Arthaśāstra*. The *Arthaśāstra* gives these details, while discussing the qualities of the director of the mines.[18] Kauṭilya says that the supervisor of the mines should be conversant with the science of metals, smelting of the metals, inspecting the mines and finding out the metal in the form of rock or in the liquid form. Kauṭilya mentions the ores of gold, silver, iron, copper, lead, tin etc. The ores of gold are of the colour of turmeric or saffron, which, when broken, show lines, spots or *svastikas* of fine sand and yield plenty of foam and smoke and so on and so forth.[19] Kauṭilya further says that the director of metals should establish factories for the alloys like *ārakūṭa* (steel), *kāṁsa* (bronze), *tāla* (bell-metal) and establish trade in metal-ware.[20] Minting of coins is one more step in the development of material human life. A hardening alloy of iron, tin, lead and antimony was added to silver or copper to make coins. Manufacturing coins elsewhere, other than the royal mint, was treated as an offence for which a penalty of 25 *paṇas* was charged.[21] Bell metal, an alloy has been mentioned as early as in RV. *Araṇyāni*, the presiding spirit of the forest, personified as a woman, is said to be honoured by her bards, birds and insects, as if to the tunes of a cymbal or bell.[22]

The Purāṇas also mention mixed metals like *triloha* and *pañcaloha*.[23] The dictionary meaning of five-fold iron is a mixed metal or iron, copper, brass, tin and lead; whereas triple iron is iron combined with two other metals. It might be gold, silver and iron, an amulet of which is prescribed for long healthy life in the AV.[24] Curiously, even today, a bracelet of five metals, is worn to drive away diseases.

In spite of such particular uses, alloy was treated as impure and inauspicious, specially for religious purposes. May be, psychologically, the notion of mixture was treated to be

18. Kangle, R.P., *The Kauṭilīya Arthaśaśtra* Part II, Bombay, 1963, p.121ff
19. *Ibid*, II.12.5
20. *Ibid.*, II.12.23
21. *Ibid.*, II. 12.25
22. RV X.146.2
23. Dange S.A., *op.cit.*
24. AV. V. 28; VII.26

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adulteration and as such a component of impurity.

(d) MEDICINE AND ALCHEMY :

Āyurveda abounds in references to powders of metals used in curative treatment, especially of chronic diseases. Vāgbhaṭa gives one remedial prescription for yellow disease-jaundice. *Lohabhasma* is to be kept in cow's urine for seven days and then it is to be partaken along with milk.[25]

Varāhamihira, while elaborating on spermatic drugs and medicines, states that a mixture of *mākṣika dhātu,* honey, *pārada,* (mercury) iron-dust, bitumen (*śilājatu*), *viḍaṅga* and *ghee,* if taken for twenty one days, even a man of eighty years old and weak, can indulge in sexual union with the energy of a young man.[26] *Mākṣika dhātu* means pyrites, that is native sulphide of iron i.e. FeS/Fe_2S_3 in chemical language.[27]

Gold being sun metal, is always regarded as beneficial for general health. In terminal diseases, even today, *suvarṇabhasma* is the last remedy. *Rasavaidyaka* is a special branch of Indian medicine, which became popular after about 6th century. Egypt is regarded as the origin of *rasavaidya.* The ancient name of Egypt is Chemi or Chemia, from which the words chemistry, alchemy have been derived. It is believed that from Egypt, this knowledge was taken to Greece and from Greece it came to India, may be during the region of Chandragupta Maurya.[28] It became so popular with the Indian physicians that Vāgbhaṭa has one full chapter on this - *Rasāyanatantra,* the seventh section of *Aṣṭāṅgahṛdaya.*

Rasakriyā has two main functions; first- *dehasiddhi* to keep body healthy with the help of *rasa* (mercury), and second- *lohasiddhi* (alchemy). It is the second part that attracted many people to *Rasaśāstra.*

After observing that fire and water react on metals and cause change in colour, shape, form etc. efforts were made to transform copper into gold. The Greeks and Romans tried very hard and ended up in finding out *aqua-ragia.*

The *Purāṇas* have recorded some interesting procedures of converting metals into gold or silver. Honey, clarified butter, jaggery, copper and the juice of vegetable *kārvella,* if burnt together, give silver.[29] *Skanda Purāṇa* gives an interesting and elaborate process. A vessel of copper, filled with water from *Brahmakuṇḍa* from Prabhāsa is buried underground and

25. *Aṣṭāṅgahṛdaya,* Vāgbhaṭa, 16.9
26. Iyer N.C. (ed.), *Bṛhatasamhitā* of Varāhamihira, Delhi, 1987, p.341
27. Williams Monier, *op. cit.,* p.805
28. Garde G.K., *Sārtha Vāgbhaṭa,* Pune, 1970, Intro p.19
29. *Garuḍa Purāṇa,* I.84.19, Chaukhamba, Varanasi, 1964

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then fire is kindled over it. It is allowed to burn slowly for six months. Then it is unearthed and water is poured on it. This process is repeated twice. When it is taken out finally, the vessel is turned into a gold one.[30]

A Malay recipe for turning brass into gold is to kill a wild pig and sew it up in brass scrape, pile timber upon it and burn it. When grass grows over it, the gold could be dug up.[31]

It seems that tantrism was greatly influenced by alchemy. *Śākta tantras* have more references to *rasakriyā* than any other type of work. A point to be noted is that, most of the works on *rasakriyā* are told by Śiva/Bhairava to Pārvatī.

CONCLUDING REMARKS

According to Jacobi, the four *yugas* of the world, recognized by the orthodox Hindus, viz; Kṛta. Tretā, Dvāpara and Kali, roughly correspond to gold, silver, brass and iron ages of the ancient people.[32] However, this order need not be absolute. It might have varied in different regions. For example, it is unlikely that the west and central Africans found any metal earlier than iron, which is so abundant in their reigon. So procuring metals is determined by the climatic conditions, colour and type of the soil and such other geological factors.

From various uses of metals as weapons, ornaments etc, mentioned right from the RV, one can safely conclude that the Vedic Aryans represented a developed society. As time passed, the crude facts about metals turned into refined metallurgical details. With every additional practical information, a parallel stream of beliefs and symbolism also grew. Man's eternal quest for perfection, through experimentation, led him further to the field of medicine and alchemy. Using metals in various fields ultimately helped to nourish human life. None can deny that metals have become an inevitable part of our life.

ABBREVIATIONS

AV _ Atharvaveda
ERE _ Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics
P _ Purāṇa
RV _ Ṛgveda
Sat.Br _ Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa
Vaj.Sam _ Vājasaneyi Saṁhitā

30. *Skanda Purāṇa* VII. 1. 147.37-45 Venkateshwar Press, Bombay
31. ERE., Vol. VIII., p.589
32. *Ibid.*, Vol. I., p.200

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THE FIRE-ORDEAL EPISODE OF THE *VĀLMĪKI-RĀMĀYAṆA* : ITS IMPACT ON THE CHARACTERS OF RĀMA AND SĪTĀ

JAYANT P. THAKER*

The episode of Sītā's Fire-ordeal spreads over 7 *Sargas* of the 6th viz., the *Yuddhakāṇḍa* of the critical edition of the *Vālmīki-Rāmāyaṇa*. These are *Sargas* 100 to 106. References here are to the Cantos and the Verses.

The Story in Brief :

Rāma sent Hanūmat to Rāvaṇa's palace to inform Sītā of his victory and bring her message (100. 19-22). Over-joyed Sītā could not find anything in the world that would suffice to reward him for the auspicious tidings. She did not allow him to kill the demonesses who had tortured her, for it was her illuck and result of former misdeeds. She said an *Ārya* should be kind (101.1-40).

Hanūmat reported to Rāma her eagerness to see him (102.1-4). Vibhīṣaṇa was sent to bring her duly bathed and decorated. She was seated in a refulgent palanquin closed on all sides with costly coverings, protected by many demons and was brought there (102.5-14).

Rāma experienced joy, distress and wrath and without any pleasure asked Vibhīṣaṇa to bring her soon (102.15-18).

Vibhīṣaṇa's people, wearing turbans and mailcoats and holding sticks in their hands, started to disperse the crowds of bears, monkeys and demons (who might have gathered there to see Sītā). Turmoil arose out of this. Rāma saw this and the confusion of the dispersed persons. With burning eyes he stopped this. He remarked that the real covering of a woman is her behaviour and that Sītā's sight was not blamable especially in his presence (102.15-29).

Bashful Sītā walked to Rāma covering her face with her garment. On reaching him she burst into tears speaking only "*Āryaputra* !" (102. 30-34). The view of her husband's peaceful face removed her mental fatigue (102.35-36) ! Rāma told her that he had warded off insult and the enemy simultaneously. He noted the valorous feats of Hanūmat, Sugrīva and Vibhīṣaṇa (103.1-9).

Journal of the Oriental Institute, Vol. 50, Nos. 1-4, Sept.-June 2000-2001 Issue, pp. 77-84.

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Beholding Sītā astonished and weeping he frowned and became harsher in his speech. He boasted again about his valorous adventure and declared that his great performance was not meant for her sake but for wiping out the censure from the fame of his very famous family. He admitted that he was doubting her character and as such he had nothing to do with her. So he asked her to go away from there wherever she liked and turn her choice to any-body else (103. 10-24).

This harsh horripilating speech of her beloved one extremely pained her. She felt ashamed. She could not but reply in stammering words (104. 1-4). She pronounced Rāma's speech as an improper, rough one worthy of an ordinary man addressing an ordinary woman, rewarding her womanhood itself in the manner of an ordinary man ! Had he sent the message of her abandonment with Hanūmat who had gone to Laṅkā in her search, she would have left her life in his presence, saving thereby Rāma's useless effort risking his very life. (104. 5-16).

Then she requested Lakṣmaṇa to prepare a pyre for her since she would enter fire for going to her only resort the earth (104. 17-19). She uttered a verse requesting Fire-god to protect her on all sides if her heart never moved away from Rāghava and entered the flaming fire (104. 20-27).

Immediately the *Lokapālas* made an entry and wondered why Rāma, The Creator Himself, disregarded Vaidehī's entering the fire like an ordinary man (105. 1-8). On Rāma's request Brahman (m.) pronounced him to be god Nārāyaṇa himself and Sītā Mother-goddess Lakṣmī (105. 9-28)

At that juncture fire-god Agni jumped (from the pyre) with well-decked young Sītā in his lap, handed her over to Rāma and pronounced her to be sinless, virtuous and exalted in character, completely devoted to him. He commanded him to accept her without any argument (106. 1-9). Rāma replied that in order to make the three worlds trust that she had remained quite pure he had allowed her to under-go the fire-ordeal. He further declared that she could not be abandoned by him even as fame by a man of self-respect and that he should act as per the wholesome advice of them all who were so affectionate to him and honoured by the Three worlds (106. 10-19). And Rāma enjoyed bliss in company of his beloved (105. 20).

Let us see how this story has influenced the two main characters.

I. Rāma

1. Suspicion :

He seems to be suspicious about Sītā's chastity from the very beginning of this

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episode; e.g.

(a) He sends Hanūmat not to bring Sītā but to inform her of his victory and to bring her message ! In his message to her he states that she should be at ease there as if in her own house since Vibhīṣaṇa was enthroned as the sovereign of Laṅka (101. 9-10).

(b) On learning that Sītā was eager to meet him he plunged into contemplation, burst into tears, heaved a long warm sigh and looked down (102. 5-6).

(c) When Vibhīṣaṇa approached him to report that Sītā had been brought in a palanquin, he was in a pensive mood (102. 15) and on learning this he experienced joy, distress and anger at a time. The reason is stated there as 'she had stayed at the demon's house for a long period' :

तामागतामुपश्रुत्य रक्षोगृहचिरोषिताम् ।
हर्षो दैन्यं च रोषश्च त्रयं राघवमाविशत् ॥ (102.16)

Consequently he asked Vibhīṣaṇa thoughtfully and without pleasure [*ahṛṣṭaḥ*] to bring her soon to him (102. 17).

2. Rough towards Sītā

This suspicion holds his mind as time passes, of course, without any reason ! As a result his attitude towards Sītā becomes more and more rough : e.g.

(a) He stops Vibhīṣaṇa and his people dispersing the crowds (for clearing the way along which Sītā had to walk. He says a woman's real covering is her behaviour alone (102. 26). He asks Vibhīṣaṇa to allow people to behold her while walking to him. In support he enumerates certain situations when observing ladies is not blamable (102. 27-28).

(b) Boasting and Insulting Tone : In both his speeches addressed to Sītā he boasts of his valorous feats just to stress the point that all that was done only to wipe out the blemish and re-instates the great fame of his great dynasty and not at all for her sake ! The second speech is more harsh and insulting for the helpless innocent lady. Therein he expressly tells her that her character is doubtful and as such he has nothing to do with her who is quite unfavourable to him. He asks her to go away and turn her liking towards anybody else !

During this unbecoming speech he points out the basis of his suspicion : "you have fallen from Rāvaṇa's lap and have been observed by him with an evil eye. How can Rāvaṇa keep patience after observing your celestial charms so attractive to mind especially when you were residing in his house ?" (103. 24) !

Can this situation be regarded as an evidence against her character ? Is this enough

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reason for insulting and abandoning her ?!

(c) Turns an Ordinary Man : Sītā is quite right when she pronounces Rāma's harsh speech as that of an ordinary man to an ordinary woman (104.5); he was blaming the whole class of females by the conduct of ordinary women (104.7)! Having submitted to anger alone he rewarded her womanhood itself in the manner of an ordinary man (104.14) ! The *Lokapālas* also state that he disregarded Vaidehī like just an ordinary man (105. 8).

(d) Proud of this High Family : He is proud of his high birth and does everything to keep it spotless and boasts to Sītā about his valorous deeds, perhaps in an indignant tone (103) !

(e) Trying to Avoid his Personal Blames at the Cost of Sītā : In his reply to Agni- the Fire-god, Rāma specifies that he was aware of Sītā's purity but that in order not to give any chance to the three worlds of blaming him as childish [*bāliśa*] and lustful [*kāmātman*] he purified her before accepting her (106.12). Thereby he wanted to make the three worlds trust that she had been pure (106.14).

Thus he made Sītā suffer a lot just to remove any doubt about them both from the minds of the worlds ! He insults his faithful, modest and chaste wife in the presence of all in order just to make others trust her chastity and thereby avoid the blames of '*bāliśa*' and '*kāmātman*' from his character ! For Rāma the prestige of his renowned family is for more important than chaste Sītā's self-respect ! He becomes more enraged and harsher in his second speech on beholding her shedding tears standing near him !

3. Kindness Towards People :

The sight of the crowds being dispersed from the way along which Sītā had to walk and the confusion of the dispersed persons was unbearable for Rāma. He felt it his own dishonour since he believed them to be his people. This hints at his gracefulness towards his subjects, the main aspect of "*Rāma-rājya*". He does not like to displease them and gives due importance to their opinions - which factor led again to innocent and pregnant Sītā's abandonment in the *Uttara-kāṇḍa* !

4. Discipline :

When Rāma sees that the *Lokapālas* have arrived there, he pays respects to them by standing with folded hands (165.4). Moreover, when Agni commands him to accept Sītā without any argument, he accepts her stating that he should act according to the wholesome advice of them all who are affectionate and honoured by all the worlds (106. 19-20). Discipline is a very important quality of a true leader.

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II. Sītā

1. Chaste Faithful Wife :

Sītā is a chaste wife so faithful to her husband whom she believes to be her only deity. She is described as *Bhartṛ-devatā, Bhartṛ-bhakti-vratā* and *Sādhvī.* On learning about her husband's victory she became over-joyed and felt that nothing in the world would suffice to reward Hanūmat for such auspicious tidings ! On approaching Rāma she experienced the feelings of wonder, extreme joy and love and her dearest one's holy view removed her mental fatigue (102. 35-36). Before going to the pyre she performed circumambulation of her husband with folded hands, though he had abandoned her and had turned his face down at that time. The remarkable verse pronounced by her before entering the blazing fire meaning "If my heart never moves away from Rāghava, may Fire, the witness of the world, protect me on all sides" (104.24) confirms her chastity. Agni, the Fire-god, bringing her unhurt, declares to Rāma that she is sinless, virtuous and exalted in character (106. 2-6), completely devoted to him and that her heart having been surrendered to him she never thought of Rāvaṇa (106.7-8). She was eager to meet her husband even before taking bath; but when she learnt that he had instructed Vibhīṣaṇa to bring her there after bath and with due decoration, she immediately agreed and did not remain adamant.

2. A Pious Lady :

She is quite pious. She bows down to gods and *Brāhmaṇas* and performs circumambulation of the blazing fire with folded hands before entering the same.

3. Kind and Forgiving Nature :

She is a kind lady, a truly *Ārya* lady, not entertaining any vengeance in her mind. She does not permit Hanūmat to kill the demonesses who had troubled her tremendously during her captivity, for they had been acting as per the instructions of their master Rāvaṇa. She forgives them. She declares that an '*Ārya*', i.e., a man of noble character should entertain kindness-grace-pity (*kāruṇyam*) not only towards good-doers but also towards evil-doers and even those who are worthy of capital punishment, since there is nobody who does not commit any offence (101.36)! She even goes to the extent of stating that even in the case of the cruel, sinful and violent demons one should not act unworthily (101.37).

4. Firm Belief in *Karma* Theory :

She firmly believes in the theory of *Karman* or Law of Action. She tells Hanūmat that her sufferings were due to her illuck and the fruition of her past mal-actions. She declares that none takes away another's sins (101.35) and as such one has to experience the fruits

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of one's own (good or bad) deeds (101.31). Due to her firm belief in this theory she does, not find fault with the demonesses who had tremendously troubled her.

5. Modesty :

She is quite modest and even in enragement she never crosses her limit neither as a wife nor as a woman. During her desperate and powerful speech she never dishonours her husband, never does she display immodesty. It is an art to deliver a very forceful speech and at the same time not to cross the limits of one's *Dharma,* which art she has exhibited here. She denies her husband's allegation and clarifies her position but, although he abandons her in so many words in the presence of all and she has decided to enter fire, she takes care not to speak a single word leading to her master's indignation ! Indeed a truly '*Ārya*' lady !

6. Bashfulness :

She is a bashful lady. When she is compelled to walk through the crowds and even when her husband has allowed all to behold her, she is stated to be trying to conceal herself in her limbs (102.33) ! She covered her face with her garment and on approaching him she could simply utter the address to him '*Āryaputra* !' and burst into tears (102.34).

7. Self-respect :

Rāma's extremely painful insulting speech produced a tremendous tremour in her (103.25). She felt ashamed (104. 1-2). Her husband himself- her only resort - insulted her in others' presence doubting her chastity - her very character ! And he had no evidence or proof for that ! He abandoned her telling to go anywhere turning her choice to either Lakṣmaṇa or Sugrīva or Vibhīṣaṇa or anybody else ! Naturally such extremely indignating circumstances would make one desperate. As such her reply has become very forceful. Every sentence is important, brimming with lustre of chastity and self-respect. Though modest by nature, she boldly pronounces his speech as improper and rough, becoming only a most ordinary man addressing an equally ordinary woman (104.5). She bravely denies his baseless allegation and swears by her very character (104.6). Every sentence is quite convincing, even her brief address to Lakṣmaṇa. She preserves her self-respect in such a forceful fashion.

Conclusion :

Throughout this episode Sītā, the heroine, acts in a quite cogent manner, quite becoming a chaste noble lady of self-respect. Her character- sketch is excellent. The attitude of Rāma, the hero, however, is inexplicable. As stated by him in his reply to Agni, he was knowing that his wife was chaste and completely faithful to him and still he insulted her in

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the presence of all that had gathered there with harsh words, abandoned her, asked her to go away and consented to Lakṣmaṇa's preparing the pyre for her and disregarded her entering the blazing fire, because he suspected that she might not have remained chaste while at Laṅkā !

There are two probable explanations for this unbecoming, unhealthy, cruel attitude of his :

(1) Bhavabhūti has replied to such situations in the following famous verse pronounced regarding Rāma himself :

"वज्रादपि कठोराणि मृदूनि कुसुमादपि ।
लोकोत्तराणां चेतांसि को नु विज्ञातुमर्हति ॥"

i.e., who can understand properly the minds of super-man which are harder than even the thunderbolt and at the same time tenderer than even flowers ? It is well nigh impossible to read their minds !

(2) Destiny caused Rāma to act in that fashion ! Sītā herself told Hanūmat that one has to experience the fruits of one's good or bad deeds (102.31[d]), for none can take away another's sins. She blames her fate and sins committed by her in the past for her sorry plight.

We know that in the *Araṇyakāṇḍa* (the Abduction Episode) on hearing the demon's fake call for help in Rāma's voice Sītā insisted on Lakṣmaṇa's running to Rāma's help and when he refused to leave her alone strictly abiding by his elder brother's instructions, she became wild and abused him unimaginably in the worst possible way and even started to beat her bely with her hands. This pained him tremendously and as a consequence Lakṣmaṇa could not but go away leaving her all alone ! Thus she herself had paved the way of her abduction ! This attitude was not worthy of a lady of her stature. She acted then as a most ordinary woman.

The Law of Action says : 'As you sow, so you reap !' In the present situation Destiny made Rāma to act as an ordinary man towards an ordinary woman in order to make her suffer the fruition of her that past unworthy action. She does not appear to have repented at all for that attitude, even while being carried away by Rāvaṇa ! Vālmīki does not seem to have hinted at the same anywhere. Firmly believing in the Law of Action [*Karma-Siddhānta*] and as a truly chaste woman of self-respect, an *Ārya* lady, under the present circumstances she does not oppose but resorts to the Fire-Ordeal wherein she succeeds at last and gets united again with her dearest Rāma.

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APPENDIX : *SUBHĀṢITAS*

During the study of the episode the writer could find the following seven *Subhāṣitas* which are arranged alphabetically for the convenience of the scholar-readers :

1. Rāma says to Sītā :

   कः पुमान् हि कुले जातः स्त्रियं परगृहोषिताम् ।
   तेजस्वी पुनरादद्यात् सुहृल्लेखेन चेतसा ॥ (103.19)

2. Rāma says to Vibhīṣaṇa :

   न गृहाणि न वस्त्राणि न प्राकारास्तिरस्क्रियाः ।
   नेदृशा राजसत्कारा वृत्तमावरणं स्त्रियः ॥ (102.26)

3. Sītā says to Hanūmat :

   न परः पापमादत्ते परेषां पापकर्मणाम् ।
   समयो रक्षितव्यस्तु सन्तश्चारित्रभूषणाः ॥ (101.35)

4. Sītā says to Hanūmat :

   पापानां वा शुभानां वा वधार्हाणां प्लवङ्गम् ।
   कार्यं कारुण्यमार्येण न कश्चिन्नापराध्यति ॥ (101.36)
   लोकहिंसाविहाराणां रक्षसां कामरूपिणाम् ।
   कुर्वतामपि पापानि नैव कार्यमशोभनम् ॥ (101.37)

5. Rāma says to Vibhīṣaṇa :

   व्यसनेषु न कृच्छ्रेषु न युद्धे न स्वयंवरे ।
   न क्रतौ नो विवाहे च दर्शनं दुष्यते स्त्रियः ॥ (102.27)

6. Rāma says to Sītā :

   सम्प्राप्तमवमानं यस्तेजसा न प्रमार्जति ।
   कस्तस्य पुरुषार्थोऽस्ति पुरुषस्याऽल्पतेजसः ॥ (103.6)

7. Sīta says to Hanūmat :

   स्वकृतं ह्युपभुज्यते ॥ (101.31[d])

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SARASVATĪ IN THE VĀYUPURĀṆA

MEENA P. PATHAK*

Introductory :

Purāṇas are the historical and mythological treatises. Each Purāṇa has its own belief and mythology concerning one and the same topic. The same is the case in respect of Sarasvatī. The concept of Sarasvatī was a very complex problem in Indian mythology. She is one of the rivers or deities of the Vedic origin. The earliest notion of Sarasvatī was undoubtedly as a river. She was considered the best of all rivers mentioned there. In the Vedic panthon many deities arose and later on merged into others and few of them survived. But with regard to Sarasvatī, the case is different. In her earliest stage in the Ṛgvedic times, she was merely a terrestrial river, but owing to the great affection and reverence shown towards her by seers, she came to be known as the goddess of speech i.e. *Vāgdevī.* The derivation of Sarasvatī from the $\sqrt{sṛ}$ + suffixes *vatup* and + *nis* presents it as a river with flowing water and thus ever affluent. The Brāhmaṇas take Sarasvatī as speech (*vāk*), implying that speech flows in the form of letters (*varṇas*), words (*padas*), sentences (*vākyas*) and the group of sentences (*vākyasamūhas*). Thus the name is equally applicable to a river as well as to speech.[1]

Besides Vedas and Brāhmaṇas, Sarasvatī has been also popular with the Upaniṣads, Sūtras, Epics, Purāṇa literature etc. There are numerous accounts concerning Sarasvatī in the different Purāṇas. Some of them tally with others while some are of distinctive nature.

Here an attempt is made to throw some light on the important and striking notions of Sarasvatī mentioned in the *Vāyupurāṇa*(VP).**

We could gather fifteen references of Sarasvatī in the VP in a different context. The subjectwise classification of the quotations of the Sarasvatī is made here :

Origin of Sarasvatī :

In the VP 9.71 - 87 the legend concerning the origin of Sarasvatī is described.

Journal of the Oriental Institute, Vol. 50, Nos. 1-4, Sept.-June 2000-2001 Issue, pp. 85-90.

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1. Khan Mohammad Israil, '*Sarasvatī in Sanskrit Literature*', Cresent Publishing House, Ghaziabad, India, 1978, p.3

** *Vāyupurāṇa,* Ānandāśrama Edition, Pune, 1983

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Accordingly it is maintained that Brahmā, at first, created his mind-born sons who were equal to himself. They all were possessed of knowledge and hence indifferent to the world आगतज्ञाना वीतरागा विमत्सराः. They could not enjoy any worldly pleasures, hence they do not procreate. Therefore Brahmā, not finding any solution, began to contemplate angrily. Out of his anger, a person as resplendent as the Sun was born. Half of his body was a male and half a woman. Brahmā asked him to separate his male and female parts into two and he did accrodingly. Brahmā again asked the male form of *Puruṣa* to divide himself. The man divided himself into eleven *Rudras*. Unlike the male form, the female form was peculiar. Her right part was white and left part was black. Brahmā again asked this female form to divide her black and white part. She did accordingly. The white part is taken to be her various manifestations say, *Svāhā, Svadhā, Mahāvidyā, Medhā, Sarasvatī* etc.[2] Thus, being one of these, Sarasvatī represents *Gaurī*, the white coloured goddess, produced from the white part of the female form.

According to another account available in this Purāṇa, 23.37-38, Sarasvatī is said to have been produced from Brahmā as *Viśvarūpā*. It is said that when the terrible black *kalpa* elapsed, another *kalpa* named *Viśvarūpa* began to function. After the period of dissolution was over, where the mobile and immobile being were created, Brahmā desirous of sons began to meditate. In the course of his meditation. Sarasvatī was born, loudly roaring to him as *Viśvarūpā*.[3]

Here she is supposed to be the mind-born daughter of Brahmā and at the same time, is also taken to be *Prakṛti*.

Colour of Sarasvatī :

The colour of Sarasvatī is also a very interesting point. In the Vedas, particularly the *Ṛgveda* (V.42.12; VII.95.6; VII.96.2), she is called *śubhrā*. So far as Purāṇas are concerned, she is described as possessed of white, black and blue colours. According to the VP, she is described as possessed of white colour. In the 19.71-87, it is stated that in the beginning a

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2. स्वाहा स्वधा महाविद्या मेधा लक्ष्मीः सरस्वती ॥ VP 9-85 ॥
अपर्णा चैकपर्णा च तथा स्यादेव पाटला ।
उमा हैमवती षष्ठी कल्याणी चैव नामतः ॥ *Ibid* 9.86 ॥
ख्यातिः प्रज्ञा महाभागा लोके गौरीति विश्रुता ॥ *Ibid* 9.87[ab] ॥
3. विनिवृत्ते तु संहारे पुनः सृष्टे चराचरे ।
ब्रह्मणः पुत्रकामस्य ध्यायतः परमेष्ठिनः ॥ *Ibid* 23.37 ॥
प्रादुर्भूता महानादा विश्वरूपा सरस्वती ।
विश्वमाल्याम्बरधरं विश्वयज्ञोपवीतिनम् ॥ *Ibid* 23.38 ॥

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female form which was produced from the wrath of Brahmā, was of two colours. Her right part was white and left was black. Out of white part, Sarasvatī was produced representing the white coloured goddess.

At another place in 23. 54-57 it is stated that Sarasvatī is *Prakṛti.* This *Prakṛti,* the source of the universe is said to have been possessed of the three *guṇas* viz. *sattva, rajas* and *tamas.* These *guṇas* are classified categorically according to their nature. *Sattva* stands for white colour, *rajas* stands for red and *tamas* for black. Scientifically, when white, red and black colours are mixed together, the ultimate colour is black. Being one of the forms of *Prakṛti,* Sarasvatī is judiciously described to be of black colour.[4]

Iconographical description of Sarasvatī :

So far as Purāṇas are concerned with reference to the face of the goddess Sarasvatī, they vary to a great extent. Like her father Brahmā, she is often mentioned as having one to four faces. In the VP 23.55 she is described as having four faces :

चतुर्मुखी जगद्योनिः प्रकृतिर्गौः प्रकीर्तिता ।

Moreover, at another place she is described as having four legs, four faces, four horns, four mouths, four teeth, four breats, four hands, four eyes.[5]

As she herself is the *Prakṛti Gau,* all the animals are born under her impression as four-footed and having four breasts.[6]

Origin of Sarasvatī as a River :

Purāṇas along with other subjects, concentrate much on the source of rivers. All rivers mentioned in the Purāṇas, have their one and the common source viz. the mountains. For

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4. षड्विंशत्तद्गुणा ह्येषा द्वात्रिंशाक्षरसंज्ञिता ।
प्रकृतिं विद्धि तां ब्रह्मंस्त्वत्प्रसूतिं महेश्वरीम् ॥ *Ibid* 23.54 ॥
प्रधानं प्रकृतिश्चैव यदाहुस्तत्त्वचिंतकाः ।
अजामेतां लोहितां शुक्लकृष्णां विश्वं संप्रसृजमानां सुरूपाम् ॥ *Ibid* 23.57 ॥
5. कैषा भगवती देवी चतुष्पादा चतुर्मुखी ।
चतुःशृङ्गी चतुर्वक्त्रा चतुर्दन्ता चतुःस्तनी ॥ *Ibid* 23.44
चतुर्हस्ता चतुर्नेत्रा विश्वरूपा कथं स्मृता । *Ibid* 23.45[ab]
6. यस्माच्चतुष्पदा ह्येषा त्वया दृष्टा सरस्वती ।
तस्माच्च पशवः सर्वे भविष्यन्ति चतुष्पदाः ॥
तस्माच्चैषां भविष्यन्ति चत्वारो वै पयोधराः ॥ *Ibid* 23.88

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Sarasvatī, it is said that it is originated from the *Himavatpṛṣṭha.*[7]

Here there is one controversy. In the above reference 23.168, the reference of Sarasvatī is available in the form of river. The translation of the stanza done by Dr. G.P. Bhatt[8] refers to Sarasvatī as river. But in the *Purāṇa Index*[9], the same reference of Sarasvatī is mentioned as 'a mountain in the Himālayas'.

Again at two places in the VP, the reference of Sarasvatī as a river is available. It is said that river Sarasvatī along with other rivers is arising from the foot of the Himālaya. And the people of the countries of *Āryas* and *Mlecchas* drink its water.[10]

At another place Sarasvatī is said to be the excellent river along with other rivers and they were invoked by Lomaṣa. All these rivers originate from heaven and are the absolvers of everyone's sin and are the bestowers of the salvation.[11] The river Sarasvatī annihilates all the sins with its sacredness and therefore is called the killer of all the sins. i.e. सर्वस्याघविमोचिनी (108.81^{b}).

Spouseship and Offsprings of Sarasvatī :

This topic has been fully discussed in many Purāṇas. Though its interpretation is vague, it has its own characteristic and has been referred to several times. In VP, Sarasvatī as a spouse has been referred to at three places. First of all while describing the lineage of the sage Bhṛgu, it is said that Marīci and his wife Saṁbhūti gave birth to a son Pūrṇamāsa and four daughters viz. *Kuṣṭi, Puṣṭi, Tviśā* and *Apaciti. Pūrṇamāsa* got married with Sarasvatī and she gave birth to two sons viz. *Viraja* and *Parvaśa.*[12] Again, while describing the descendent of the Agni, it is said that *Svāhā,* the wife of Agni, bore three sons viz. *Pāvaka,*

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7. भविष्यति महावीर्यं वेदर्शीर्षाश्च पर्वतः ।
   हिमवत्पृष्ठमाश्रित्य सरस्वत्या नगोत्तमे ॥ *Ibid* 23.168
8. Bhatt G.P., *'Ancient Indian Tradition and Mythology'*, Pub. by Motilal Banarsidas, Delhi, 1987, Vo.37, Stanza no.23.155-157, p.146
9. Dikshitar V.R., *Purāṇa Index,* Pub. by University of Madras, 1955, Vol.III, P.555
10. पीयन्ते यैरिमा नद्यो गङ्गासिन्धुसरस्वती ।
    शतद्रुश्चन्द्रभागा च यमुना सरयूस्तथा ॥ *Ibid* 45.94
    अन्ये तेभ्यः परिज्ञाता ह्रस्वाः स्वल्पोपजीविनः ।
    तैर्विमिश्रा जनपदा आर्यम्लेच्छाश्च नित्यशः ॥ *Ibid* 45.93
11. आहुतास्तु सरिच्छ्रेष्ठा लोमशेन महानदी ।
    शरावती वेत्रवती चन्द्रभागा सरस्वती ॥ *Ibid* 108.78
12. पूर्णमासः सरस्वत्यां द्वौ पुत्रावुदपादयत् ।
    विरजं चैव धर्मिष्ठं पर्वसं चैव तावुभौ ॥ *Ibid* 28.10

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Pavamāna and *Śuci*. Of these three, *Saharakṣa* was *Pāvaka's* son; *Kavyavāhana* was *Pavamāna's* son and *Havyavāhana* was the son of *Śuci*. Further *Havyavāhana* got married with sixteen rivers.[13] He divided himself into separate sixteen parts among them and deposited himself in those *Dhiṣṇīs*.

At third place, while describing the lineage of *Puru*, it is said that *Jvalanā*, the wife of king *Riveyu* begot a son named *Ranti*. The king *Ranti* married with Sarasvatī and begot splendid three sons viz. *Trasu, Pratiratha* and *Dhruva*.[14]

Miscellaneous References to Sarasvatī :

Brahmā and Viṣṇu, not finding the limit of the *liṅga* manifested before them, began to praise the Lord Mahādeva. They say that the whole universe is created by him. He is the eternal source the world. Again they say that *Lakṣmī, Kīrti, Rātri, Sarasvatī* etc. too are born of him. Thus Sarasvatī is said to be produced from Śiva.[15]

Further in the section *Śrāddhakalpa*, the reference to Sarasvatī is available. The child, born from the splendour of Rudra, Agni and Gaṅgā was Kārtikeya. For the purpose of Skanda's play, Viṣṇu gave two birds viz. peacock and cock, Vāyu gave him a banner, Sarasvatī gave him great lute of loud sound, Manu (Self born, Svāyaṁbhu) presented him a goat and a ram was given by Śaṁbhu.[16]

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13. कावेरीं कृष्णवेणीञ्च नर्मदां यमुनान्तथा ।
गोदावरीं वितस्ताञ्च चन्द्रभागामिरावतीम् ॥ *Ibid* 29.13
विपाशां कौशिकीञ्चैव शतद्रुं सरयूस्तथा ।
सीतां सरस्वतीञ्चैव ह्लादिनीं पावनीं तथा ॥ *Ibid* 29.14
तासु षोडशधात्मानं प्रविभज्य पृथक् पृथक् ।
आत्मानं व्यदधात्तासु धिष्णीस्वथ बभूव सः ॥ *Ibid* 29.15

14. रन्तिर्नारः सरस्वत्यां पुत्रानजनयच्छुभान् ।
त्रसुं तथाऽप्रतिरथं ध्रुवं चैवातिधार्मिकम् ॥ *Ibid* 99.129

15. लक्ष्मीः कीर्तिर्धृतिर्मेधा लज्जा क्षान्तिर्वपुः स्वधा ।
तुष्टिःपुष्टिः क्रिया चैव वाचां देवीं सरस्वती ।
त्वत्तः प्रसूता देवेश सन्ध्या रात्रिस्तथैव च ॥ *Ibid* 55.43

16. क्रीडार्थं चैव स्कन्दस्य विष्णुना प्रभविष्णुना ।
गरुडादिति सृष्टौ हि पक्षिणौ हि प्रभद्रकौ ।
मयूरः कुक्कुटश्चैव पताका चैव वायुना ॥ *Ibid* 72.45
यस्य दत्ता सरस्वत्या महावीणा महास्वना ।
अजः स्वयम्भुवा दत्तो मेषो दत्तश्च शम्भुना ॥ *Ibid* 72.46

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At one place Sarasvatī is said to be holy river and one wishing everlasting benefit should perform *Śrāddha* on the bank of the river Sarasvatī.[17]

Further while describing the glory of the *Śilāmāhātmya* in the section of *Gayāmāhātmya,* the sage explains the importance of the place *Agnidhārā* and says that in that place there is a *kuṇḍa* named Sārasvata and it was created by Sarasvatī.[18]

Lastly in the Adh. 109.21, the manifest and unmanifest form of the primordial *Gadādhara* is described. There the Lord *Gadādhara* is said to be present everywhere in Gayā. He is said to be stationed at various shrines and deities in Gayā. Sarasvatī is one of the deity of Gayā.[19]

Thus these are the references of Sarasvatī found in the *Vāyupurāṇa.* But there is a question whether all these references referred to are to one and the same Sarasvatī ? If it is so, then there arises a question how one and the same Sarasvatī would be a wife of three persons ? It is quite possible that same may be the goddess Sarasvatī and a river Sarasvatī. But there is a doubt about her spouseship. There might be different goddesses of the similar name. Whatever the case may be, this paper presents only the references to Sarasvatī occurring in the *Vāyupurāṇa.*

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17. विनशने सरस्वत्यां प्लक्षप्रश्रवणे तथा ।
व्यासतीर्थे सरस्वत्यां त्रिप्लक्षे च विशेषतः ॥ *Ibid* 77.67
18. अग्निधारा गिरिवरादागताद्यन्तकादनु ।
तत्र सारस्वतं कुण्डं सरस्वत्याः प्रकल्पितम् ॥ *Ibid* 108.59
19 गायत्री चैव सावित्री सन्ध्या चैव सरस्वती ।
गदादित्यश्चोत्तरार्को दक्षिणार्कोऽपि नैमिषः ॥ *Ibid* 109.21

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A VARIETY OF SHADES OF MEANING OF THE WORD *PAṆḌITA* IN THE *ŚRĪMAD BHĀGAVATA PURĀṆAM*

JAYDEV JANI*

The Purāṇas are the storehouses of ancient Indian historical accounts blended with not only royal genealogies and life as well as preaching of some of the great personalities like Kapila, Bhīṣma and others but also blended with the philosophical and spiritual instructions. The cosmogony and other topics are also dealt with.

The tradition counts 18 *Mahāpurāṇas* and 18 *Upapurāṇas.* The *Śrīmad Bhāgavatam* falls under the category of the *Mahāpurāṇas.* Its most fascinating aspect is the life and exploits of Lord Śrī Kṛṣṇa, his religious, philosophical and spiritual instructions and also the ninefold path of devotion (among which the path of surrender is more specifically presented).

The *Śrīmad Bhāgavata Mahāpurāṇam* or *Śrīmad Bhāgavata Purāṇam,* widely known as the *Bhāgavatam* (=Bhp) is a unique Purāṇa-text, not only because it is the perfect result[1] of the Vedic literature nor because it consists of 10 characteristics[2], while compared to other Purāṇas of 5 characteristics[3] but also because it is a testing rod for scholars[4].

The word *Paṇḍita* in India is used in two meanings. The northern India uses it mostly for the Brahmins of priestly class. In Rajasthan, Gujarat and Maharashtra it is used for the traditional learned scholars of any of the branch of Sanskrit scriptures, while in the South it is more frequently used for the traditional Vedic scholars (for other traditional learned scholars of different scriptures, they use the word *Vidvān*).

Journal of the Oriental Institute, Vol. 50, Nos. 1-4, Sept.-June 2000-2001 Issue, pp. 91-98.

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1. निगमकल्पतरोर्गलितं फलं
   शुकमुखादमृतद्रवसंयुतम् ।
   पिबत भागवतं रसमालयं
   मुहुरहो रसिका भुवि भावुकाः ॥ भाग०पु०माहात्म्य ६.८० ॥
2. अत्र सर्गो विसर्गश्च स्थानं पोषणमूतयः ।
   मन्वन्तरेशानुकथा निरोधो मुक्तिराश्रयः ॥ भाग०पु० २.१०.१ ॥
3. सर्गश्च प्रतिसर्गश्च वंशो मन्वन्तराणि च ।
   वंश्यानुचरितं चैव पुराणं पञ्चलक्षणम् ॥ मत्स्य०पु० ५३.६५ ॥
4. The famous dictum: विद्यावतां भागवते परीक्षा ।

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Here below an attempt is made to bring out a variety of shades of meaning of the word *Paṇḍita* (a scholar, a learned, a wise or a sensible man) found in the BhP, Books I - XI (Book XII does not contain a single usage), occurring in different context and hence giving different shades of meaning. The word *Paṇḍita* occurs 22 times[5] in the BhP as the uncompounded and the compounded i.e. in the *Upapada* compound and in the Negative compound. This can be categorized as under :

Uncompounded (11 times)	In the *Upapada* (9 times)	In the Negative compound (2 times)
04,13.01; 04,33.34;	01,14.30; 01,10.08;	08,11.08;
04,24.67; 06,07.12;	08,20.15; 09,23.04;	10,49.23
07,14.05; 07,15.21;	10,25.05; 10,78.26;	
08,09.09; 10,48.26;	11,05.06; 11,26.13;	
11,19.31; 11,29.14.	11,28.37.	

As per the characteristic of the *Upapada* compound, it obviously expresses that it becomes a secondary word compounded with a verbal derivative.[6] The word *Paṇḍita* prefixed to the noun *manin* (believing or considering oneself) qualifies the sense of the verb ***man (manyate)*** 4 A, to believe, to consider, etc.[7]

Amarakośa[8] enlists 22 synonyms of *Paṇḍita*.[9] Its grammatical derivation is given by Bhānuji Dīkṣita as: one goes with it, because the root ***Paḍi gatau*** - to go[10] and quotes *Medinī-kośa:* the word *Paṇḍa* (Masculine) means a eunuch, while in the feminine it means

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5. This number is arrived at with the aid of the device called Search-string of the TUSTEP Computer Programming which in no time shows the word in its exact context and reference. The TUSTEP is introduced by the Computer Department, Tuebingen University, Germany. The author of this article was invited by the Department of Indology, University of Zurich, Switzerland from October 1993 to August 1995, to assist in the project called Sanskrit Literary Tradition of the Svāminārāyaṇa Movement of Hinduism, sponsored by the Swiss National Funds.
6. Pāṇini III, i.92 and II.ii.19
7. Pāṇinian Rootlist 1176
8. विद्वान्विपश्चिद्दोषज्ञः सन्सुधीः कोविदो बुधः ।
   धीरो मनीषी ज्ञः प्राज्ञः संख्यावान्पण्डितः कविः ॥
   धीमान्सूरिः कृती कृष्टिर्लब्धवर्णो विचक्षणः ।
   दूरदर्शी दीर्घदर्शी ..... ॥ अमर० २.७.५-६ ॥
9. It is just a coincidence that *Amarakośa* enlists the same number of occurrences of the word in the BhP.
10. Pāṇini: Rootlist 281

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knowledge.[11] Thus, one who got *paṇḍā,* on the strength of Pāṇini's rule of applying *itac* (=*ita*) to the word. It can be also derived directly from the root as, one went i.e. worked with it, because the root means to go. Under II, vi.39, Bhānuji elaborates the word *paṇḍa* (with the above quotation of the *Medinī*) with the corroboration of *Śvetāśvatara Upaniṣad* (5.10),[12] points out that the word falls in the group of *nabharāt,* on the authority of Patañjali, the *Bhāṣyakāra*'s statement: The word is in neuter gender, but it can be also used in masculine.

Thus the word *Paṇḍita* grammatically construes with the philosophical meaning and hence it means one who has the knowledge of the Self (*ātma+buddhi*), while *a+paṇḍita* will mean one without the knowledge of the Self (*an+ātma+buddhi*) i.e. an ignorant. The references with their contextual meaning are as follows :

(A) Vena, the son of King Aṅga, harasses his subjects and hence king Aṅga becomes dejected and detached. He reflects: A *Paṇḍita* (wise) does not get extremely attached to his progeny in the form of infatuating bondage, which makes houses full of afflictions.[13]

(B) Stating the *Phala-śruti* of listening to or reading the account of Pṛthu's queen Arciḥ who enters into the pyre - fire with her dead husband, the reward is mentioned: A normal common man gets glory and a fool becomes a *Paṇḍita* (wise). It is a means to secure prosperity and to remove inauspiciousness.[14]

(C) In the *Rudra-gītā,* Rudra recites a eulogy to be recited by *Bhāgavata*- devotees. He says: Who else a *Paṇḍita* (wise) whose abode is getting perished in your contempt, abandons the lotus-feet of yours who are worshipped by fourteen Manus who are free from doubts and sense of propriety.[15]

(D) Narrating the incident of Indra's paying no proper respects to his teacher

11. Bhānuji Dīkṣita: *Amarakośa Vyākhyāsudhā,* p. 252 पण्ड्यतेऽनया । पडि गतौ । गुरोश्च (३/३/१०३) इत्यः । पण्डः षण्ढे धियि स्त्री स्यात् । (इति मेदिनी) । पण्डा जाताऽस्य । तारकादित्वात् (५।२।३६) इतच् । यद्वा पण्डते स्म । गत्यर्था - (३।४।७४) इति क्तः । इह (७।२।३५) ॥

12. *Ibid,* p. 215: पण्डते । पडि गतौ । अच् (३।१।१३४) । यद्वा पणते । पण व्यवहारे स्तुतौ च ॥ नैव स्त्री न पुमानेष ॥

13. कस्तं प्रजापतेर्दशं वै मोहबन्धनमात्मनः ।
पण्डितो बहु मन्येत यदर्थाः क्लेशदा गृहाः ॥ भाग०पु० ४.१३.४५ ॥

14. अस्पष्टकीर्तिः सुयशा मूर्खो भवति पण्डितः ।
इदं स्वस्त्ययनं पुंसाममङ्गल्यनिवारणम् ॥ भाग०पु० ४.२३.३४ ॥

15. कस्त्वत्पदाब्जं विजहाति पण्डितो यस्तेऽवमानव्ययमानकेतनः ।
विशङ्क्यास्मद्गुरुरर्चति स्म यद्विनोपपत्तिं मनवश्चतुर्दश ॥ भाग०पु० ४.२४.६७ ॥

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Bṛhaspati, Śukadeva reports Indra's repentance with the words: Who will covet the prosperity and wealth of the celestial regions, if he be a *Paṇḍita* (wise, sensible) which caused demoniac temperament in me ?[16]

(E) While stating the ways of practising good conduct, Sage Nārada instructs : A *Paṇḍita* (wise) should perform requisite deeds with the attachment like that of a detached person.[17]

(F) In the same context as a vow, Nārada says: There are number of *Paṇḍitas* (learned scholars) of extensive knowledge, capable of dispelling the doubts of others and leaders of assemblies, who have fallen down through discontent.[18]

(G) In the episode of the churning of Milky ocean for nectar, Lord Viṣṇu, the *Mohinī* incarnate rebukes the demons: How is it that you, the sons of the great Sage Kaśyapa, associate yourselves with a wanton woman like me ? Certainly, no *Paṇḍita* (wise) reposes trust in women.[19]

(H) After killing Kaṁsa, Lord Śrī Kṛṣṇa accompanied by Balarāma, goes to Akrūra who prays Him: What a *Paṇḍita* (learned) would seek resort to any person other than You who are so beloved of Your devotees, true of word, friendly and grateful, and who bestow on all the votaries and friends who resort to you, their desired objects- nay, his own Self which is above decay and growth.[20]

(I,J) During the questionnaire between Uddhava and Lord Śrī Kṛṣṇa, Uddhava asks: Who is (really) a *Paṇḍita* (learned) and who is a fool?....., etc.[21] to which Lord Śrī Kṛṣṇa replies: He who knows the path of liberation from the bondage (of the worldly existence)

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16. को गृध्येत् पण्डितो लक्ष्मीं त्रिविष्टपपतेरपि ।
यस्याहमासुरं भावं नीतोऽद्य विबुधेश्वरः ॥ भाग०पु० ६.७.१२ ॥
17. यावदर्थमुपासीनो देहे गेहे च पण्डितः ।
विरक्तो रक्तवत् तत्र नृलोके नरतां न्यसेत् ॥ भाग०पु० ७.१४.५ ॥
18. पण्डिता बह्वो राजन् बहुज्ञाः संशयच्छिदः ।
सदस्पतयोऽप्येके असन्तोषात् पतन्त्यधः ॥ भाग०पु० ७.१५.२१ ॥
19. कथं कश्यपदायादाः पुंश्चल्यां मयि सङ्गताः ।
विश्वासं पण्डितो जातु कामिनीषु न याति हि । भाग०पु० ८.९.९ ॥
20. कः पण्डितस्त्वदपरं शरणं समीयाद् भक्तप्रियादृतगिरः सुहृदः कृतज्ञात् ।
सर्वान् ददाति सुहृदो भजतोऽभिकामानात्मानमप्युपचयापचयौ न यस्य ॥ भाग०पु० १०.४८.२६ ॥
21. कः पण्डितः कश्च मूर्खः कः पन्था उत्पथश्च कः ।
कः स्वर्गो नरकः कः स्वित् को बन्धुरुत किं गृहम् ॥ भाग०पु० ११.१९.३१ ॥

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or one who has true knowledge of the nature of the bondage and emancipation - is a *Paṇḍita* (learned).[22]

(K) Under the same topic, Lord Śrī Kṛṣṇa concludes: The *Paṇḍita* is he who looks with an equal eye[23] (without making any difference in) a Brahmin, ... (such impartial person) is really the spiritually wise person.[24]

The references of word *Paṇḍita* in the *Upapada* compound are as follows:

(L) In the dialogue between Maitreya and Vidura, Maitreya reports about the unrighteous behaviour of King Vena: He explicitly declared himself as an embodiment of all gods and as the Lord under the guise of a king, he is confronted by the twice-borns,[25] because he considers himself a *Paṇḍita* (expert in scriptural laws declaring a king as an embodiment of all lords of directions).[26]

(M) With reference to Jada Bharata, Śukadeva speaks: King Rahūgaṇa had false ego of his divine kingship (like King Vena, as above in A)[27] and was intoxicated by the pride of Passion (*rajas*) and Dark (*tamas*). He belittled all the abodes of Lord and considered himself a *Paṇḍita* (wise).[28]

(N) At the time of the vision of the Universal Form in King Bali's account of offering land of three steps to *Vāmana* (the Dwarf incarnation), King Bali does not obey the advice

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22. श्रीर्गुणा नैरपेक्ष्याद्याः सुखं दुःखसुखात्ययः ।
दुःखं कामसुखापेक्षा पण्डितो बन्धमोक्षवित् ॥ भाग०पु० ११.१९.४१ ॥
23. विद्याविनयसम्पन्ने ब्राह्मणे गवि हस्तिनि ।
शुनि चैव श्वपाके च पण्डिताः समदर्शिनः ॥ गीता० ५.१८ ॥
24. ब्राह्मणे पुल्कसे स्तेने ब्रह्मण्येऽर्के स्फुलिङ्गके ।
अक्रूरे क्रूरके चैव समदृक् पण्डितो मतः ॥ भाग०पु० ११.२९.१४ ॥
25. इति तेऽसत्कृतास्तेन द्विजाः पण्डितमानिना ।
भग्नायां भव्ययाच्ञायां तस्मै विदुर चुक्रुधुः ॥ भाग०पु० ४.१४.३० ॥
26. इन्द्रानिलयमार्काणामग्नेश्च वरुणस्य च ।
चन्द्रवित्तेशयोश्चैव मात्रा निर्हृत्य शाश्वतीः ॥
यस्मादेषां सुरेन्द्राणां मात्राभ्यो निर्मितो नृपः ।
तस्मादभिभवत्येष सर्वभूतानि तेजसा ॥ मनु० ७.४-५ ॥
27. See FN no.12 above
28. एवं ब्रह्मबद्धमपि भाषमाणं नरदेवाभिमानं रजसा तमसानुविद्धेन मदेन तिरस्कृता-
शेषभगवत्प्रियनिकेतं पण्डितमानिनं स भगवान् ब्राह्मणो ब्रह्मभूतः सर्वभूतसुहृदात्मा
योगेश्वरचर्यायां नातिव्युत्पन्नमतिं स्मयमान इव विगतस्मय इदमाह ॥ भाग०पु० ५.१०.८ ॥

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of his preceptor Śukrācārya who in turn, curses him accusing: He firmly believes himself a *Paṇḍita* (wise).[29]

(O) When Vasiṣṭha, the family preceptor, consecrates King Nimi for the ritual and keeping the ritual incomplete, goes to perform Indra's sacrifice, King Nimi completes it with the assistance of other priests. Vasiṣṭha, on his return becoming angry with his disciple's disregard, curses Nimi: You consider yourself a *Paṇḍita* (wise).[30]

(P) During Lord Śrī Kṛṣṇa's advice to cowherds to stop the Indra-worship and to worship the mount Govardhana, Indra is angry with the cowherds, because they respect Lord Śrī Kṛṣṇa who is talkative, childish, fool, ignorant and considers himself a *Paṇḍita* (wise).[31]

(Q) In the description of Baladeva's pilgrimage, Baladeva justifies the killing of, Romaharṣaṇa *Sūta,* the disciple of great sage Vyāsa. Though the *Sūta* has studied epics and Purāṇas and also the sciences of *Dharma,* he has no manners, as he neither gets up nor salutes Baladeva. The *Sūta*'s learning the lores is just cramming like an actor, hence he considers himself a *Paṇḍita* (learned).[32]

(R) On the inquiry of King Nimi to the Brahmins regarding the duties of Lord's devotees, the Brahmins elaborate the duties and qualities of Lord's devotees. Camasa, one of the Brahmin scholars, says: Learned men skilled in rituals and experts in lores, but devoid of devotion to the Lord, mislead the people and ridicule his devotees. They are fools and yet consider themselves as *Paṇḍitas* (wise).[33]

(S) Purūravā, son of Ilā, the singer of *Ṛca* (RV 10.95) realizes his attachment to Urvaśī and ponders over: He considered himself a *Paṇḍita* (wise) and a learned who not knowing his own interest became lustful in the women.[34]

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29. दृढं पण्डितमान्यज्ञः स्तब्धोऽस्यस्मदुपेक्षया ।
मच्छासनातिगो यस्त्वमचिराद् भ्रश्यसे श्रियः ॥ भाग०पु० ८.२०.१५ ॥
30. शिष्यव्यतिक्रमं वीक्ष्य निर्वर्त्य गुरुरागतः ।
अशपत् पतताद् देहो निमेः पण्डितमानिनः ॥ भाग०पु० ९.१३.४ ॥
31. वाचालं बालिशं स्तब्धमज्ञं पण्डितमानिनम् ।
कृष्णं मर्त्यमुपाश्रित्य गोपा मे चक्रुरप्रियम् ॥ भाग०पु० १०.२५.५ ॥
32. अदान्तस्याविनीतस्य वृथा पण्डितमानिनः ।
न गुणाय भवन्ति स्म नटस्येवाजितात्मनः ॥ भाग०पु० १०.७८.२६ ॥
33. कर्मण्यकोविदाः स्तब्धा मूर्खाः पण्डितमानिनः ।
वदन्ति चाटुकान् मूढा यया माध्व्या गिरोत्सुकाः ॥ भाग०पु० ११.५.६ ॥
34. स्वार्थस्याकोविदं धिङ्मां मूर्खं पण्डितमानिनम् ।
योऽहमीश्वरतां प्राप्य स्त्रीभिर्गोखरवर्जितः ॥ भाग०पु० ११.२६.१३ ॥

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(T) In the dialogue of Lord Śrī Kṛṣṇa and Uddhava, Lord asserts: The conviction is meaningless in case of those *Paṇḍitas* (learned scholars) who make parade of their learning on the point that the duality is perceptible by names and forms and (or) it is constituted of five elements and the Upaniṣadic passages (of such sort) are merely complimentary.[35]

The references of the word *Paṇḍita* in the Negative *Tatpuruṣa* compound are as follows:

(U) During the battle between gods and demons, Virocana's son Bali, the demon king answers Indra: Victory and defeat do not perturb a scholar. Gods are *a+paṇḍitas* (unwise, fools or unaware of worldly facts).[36]

(V) While narrating Duryodhana's wicked deeds to Dhṛtarāṣṭra, Akrūra warns: The life, riches and prosperity nourished by unworthy deeds destroy an *a+paṇḍita* (a stupid) whose goal is unachieved.[37]

Thus the careful study of the variety of meaning of the word *Paṇḍita* used in the BhP brings out following observations.

(1) It is used in the sense of wise i.e. a knower of the Self in (B) 4,23.34, (C) 4,24.7, (E) 7,14.5, (G) 8,9.9, (K) 11,29.14 and (R) 11,5.6.

(2) In the sense of a sensible man in (A) 4,13.4, (D) 6,7.12, (N) 8,20.15, (U) 8,11.8 and (V) 10,49.23.

(3) In the sense of a learned scholar in (F) 7,15.21, (H) 10,48.26, (I) 11,19.31, (J) 11,19.41, (L) 4,14.30, (M) 5,10.8, (O) 9,13.4, (P) 10,25,5, (Q) 10,78.26, (S) 11,26.13 and (T) 11,28.37.

(4) The word *Paṇḍita*, in 8,11.8 and 10,49.23, as the second member in the Negative *Tatpuruṣa* compound is used in the sense of a person lacking wordly wisdom i.e. stupid or a foolish person.

(5) The word *Paṇḍita* as the first member in the *Upapada* compound is in five places, used in the sense of a learned man, while in four places the context gives the sense

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35. यन्नामाकृतिभिर्ग्राह्यं पञ्चवर्णमबाधितम् ।
व्यर्थेनाप्यर्थवादोऽयं द्वयं पण्डितमानिनाम् ॥ भाग०पु० ११.२८.३७ ॥

36. तदिदं कालरशनं जनाः पश्यन्ति सूरयः ।
न हृष्यन्ति न शोचन्ति तत्र यूयमपण्डिताः ॥ भाग०पु० ८.११.८ ॥

37. पुष्णाति यानधर्मेण स्वबुद्ध्या तमपण्डितम् ।
तेऽकृतार्थं प्रहिण्वन्ति प्राणा रायः सुतादयः ॥ भाग०पु० १०.४९.२३ ॥

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of a pedant person who fancies himself to be a *Paṇḍita* or one who attaches undue importance to trifles of scholarship.

(6) The word *Paṇḍita* as uncompounded, is in four places, used in the sense of a wise who is a knower of the self, in two places in the sense of a sensible person accepted as a person wise in the wordly parlance and in five places it is used in the sense of a learned scholar who has mastered the lores and the scriptures.

Thus out of 22 synonyms listed in the *Amarakośa* under the name *Paṇḍita*, one finds here the same type of usage i.e. the word *Paṇḍita* in 3 meanings, each depending on the context, though BhP uses the word in the same 3 meanings, but the context helps to come to an exact meaning.

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HARIŚCANDRA : TWO PROMISES AND THE QUESTION OF TRUTHFULNESS

KUSUM P. MERH*

Metaphysically Truth is identified with the Supreme Reality in the Upaniṣads. Crookedness or falsity occurs in the incoherence of thought, speech and action. Śaṅkarācārya explains Truth as coherence and integrity of these -

'सत्यमिति अमायिता अकौटिल्यं वाङ्मनःकायानाम् ।'

(*Śāṅkarabhāṣya on Praśnopaniṣad* 1.16)

All other virtues follow from Truth understood in such wider sense.

The deliverance of Śunaśśepa from the sacrificial post is a Vedic fact. There are eight hymns in the *Ṛgveda* (1.24 to 30 & 9.3.10) ascribed to the seership of Śunaśśepa wherein he poured forth fervent prayers to the gods in utter helplessness. He propitiated with praise and prayers Agni, Savitṛ, Indra, Aśvins and Uṣas.

Śunaśśepa had fallen in such predicament due to king Hariścandra's failure in keeping the promise he made to Varuṇa.

The earliest version of the story of Hariścandra and his promise to Varuṇa is seen in the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* (ABr.).[1] According to it Hariścandra was childless and prayed to Varuṇa to grant him a son, promising to offer his son to him if born due to Varuṇa's grace. A son was born and the King was overwhelmed by the paternal love. He pleaded excuses and went on postponing the dreadful event, which he had promised, on one pretext or the other even when Varuṇa himself approached him demanding the promise to be fulfilled[2]. Varuṇa waited with remarkable patience.

Years rolled by and the parental love took over the duty of fulfilling the promise, or rather the contract. Varuṇa persisted in his demand and the son, Rohita, now a young man,

Journal of the Oriental Institute, Vol. 50, Nos. 1-4, Sept.-June 2000-2001 Issue, pp. 99-105.

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1. *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* 7. 13-18, Anandasharam edition
2. Initially he requested to postpone the sacrifice for ten days of postnatal confinement, then till the child's teeth emerge, then when they fall, when they emerge again and finally when the boy becomes fit to wear an armour.

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being apprised by the father of the old contract with the god, did not submit and went away to the forest. Varuṇa, who, till then, had displayed patience was wroth. He punished Hariścandra by making him sick with dropsy.

Varuṇa is the supreme god of the Vedic pantheon. He is upholder of *Ṛta* i.e. the cosmic as well as the moral order. He knows through his spies all the good or bad deeds of Man. Nothing is hidden from him as the Sun is his eye who reports all the happenings to him. Such is the controller of *Ṛta*, who also punishes the offenders in his own way i.e. by inflicting various diseases.

"अनृते खलु क्रियमाणे वरुणो गृह्यति"

- *Taittarîya Brāhmaṇa*, 1.7.2.6

On learning about his father's sickness Rohita realised his filial duty and decided to return home and protect the life of his father. A.Br. as well as *Bhāgavatapurāṇa* versions say that he was stopped by Indra in the guise of a brahmin who exhorted him to wander more and more '*cara eva iti*'. Rohita wandered for a year. When he again wanted to return home Indra stopped him again saying that there is such good in moving about and not in sitting idle. Rohita wandered for five years. It is, however, not clear as to why he was stopped by Indra when he was returning to save his father's life; and why Indra chose this time in particular to preach him the merit of hard work and sustained continued effort for achieving a desired object.

In his sixth round Rohita met a sage named Ajīgarta and his three sons who were starving. Rohita said "O sage! I will give a hundred (cows). I will buy myself off with one of these (sons)". Father agreed but was unwilling to part with the eldest son and the mother with the youngest. Hence the middle one named Śunaśśepa was sold[3]. Rohita brought him to his father and told him his proposal. Hariścandra approached Varuṇa who readily agreed to accept Śunaśśepa sacrificed in the place of Rohita.

The story further tells about the sacrifice in which Viśvāmitra officiated as *Hotṛ*, Jamadagni as *Adhvaryu*, Ayāsya as *Udgātṛ* and Vasiṣṭha as Brahmā. At the time of *niyojana* (binding the victim to the stake) and *Viśasana* (cutting it with knife) Jamadagni found it too repulsive. At this juncture Ajīgarta accepted to do that for two hundred cows more. In this utter helplessness Śunaśśepa praised and propitiated the gods[4] who delivered him from the bondage.

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3. In Bhāsa's *Madhyamavyāyoga* can be seen a similar incident where the starving couple gives away the middle son to Ghaṭotkaca for being offered as food to his mother Hiḍimbā.
4. Prajāpati, Agni, Savitṛ, Varuṇa, Viśvedevas, Indra, Aśvins and Uṣas. Indra presented a gold chariot to him. As he uttered the 3 verses in praise of Uṣas his bonds fell off one by one.

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The high priests invited him to perform the closing rite. He saw a new improved method of pressing Soma (*añjassava*). After this he went to Viśvāmitra and sat on his lap like a son. He refused to go to his father Ajīgarta who now cajoled him to come back to him. Viśvāmitra also refused to give him back. Since the boy was given by gods he was called 'Devarāta'[5].

This story of Hariścandra - Rohita - Śunaśśepa also occurs in many Purāṇas *Mārkaṇḍeya P.* (7-9) *Brahma P.* (Chap. 34 of Gautamī Māhātmya), *Bhāg P.* (9.7 7-25), *Devī Bhāgavata* (7. 14-25)[6].

The *Brahma Purāṇa* version corresponds with ABr. version in all significant details and it comes under the topic *Gautamī-māhātmya* (Chap.34). In this version the deliverance of Śunaśśepa is effected in a peculiar manner. Hariścandra did not agree to sacrifice a brahmin boy. He felt that it was a duty of a king to protect others. Freedom from disease by sacrificing a brahmin was not acceptable to him. He said- "It is better to die due to the disease rather than make a brahmin the victim at a sacrifice."

"वरं रुजा हि मरणं न कथमपि पशुं द्विजम्" (34.67)

At this a divine voice from the sky told them to go to *Gautamī tīrtha* and perform the sacrifice there which would be complete even without the killing of the victim.

This poetical innovation is natural to an age which looked upon sacrifices specially the human sacrifice with horror. This age believed in washing off all sins in holy water of Gaṅgā and gradually, the dips in holy waters substituted the sacrifices which appealed to the changed outlook of the common people[7].

A study of the story of Hariścandra as in the ABr. and its later versions brings forth certain topics which are dealt with in most of them :-

1. Glorification of begetting a son.
2. Importance of visiting holy places
3. Importance of Truthfulness.

In the ABr. story of Hariścandra - Śunaśśepa the importance of begetting a son is emphasised during a conversation. King Hariścandra of Ikśvāku race was childless. Once sages Parvata and Nārada were his guests. The king asked with wonderment (ABr. 7.13)

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5. It may be noted here that the Śunaśśepa legend is prescribed to be narrated at a king's coronation. The *phalaśruti* declares - one is freed from all sins, and those who desire sons will get sons by arranging the narration of this story - ABr. 7.18.
6. Also *Śāṅkhāyana Śrauta Sūtra,* 15.17, Hillebrandt's edition, Indica, 1888
7. Cf. Hariyappa H.L., *Ṛgvedic Legends through the Ages,* P. 214

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as to why all beings, endowed with intellegence or no alike, long for a son. What is exactly that they gain ? Nārada replies in ten *gāthās,* expatiating on the merits of begetting a son. he says:

'ज्योतिर् ह पुत्रो परमे व्योमन्'
(Son is his light in the highest heaven.)

Brahma P. says that without a son there is no heaven, nor liberation[8].

It is a regular feature of the Purāṇas that they instruct in an indirect manner, in the course of a story. Here, reveals the deeply rooted belief that a son frees his father from one of his three debts, viz. the *pitṛ-ṛṇa.* At the *Samāvartana* ceremony the teacher in his *convocation* address says-

.....प्रजातन्तुं मा व्यवच्छेत्सीः ।

- (*Taittirîya Upaniṣad* 1.11)

Apart from this it is also a duty of a king to give an heir to his throne.

It is worth noticing here that in Mārk. P. the queen Śaivyā pleads in a pathetic manner, "O King! A son is born to me, and the main purpose of having a wife thus been fulfilled, you sell me and with that money offer the *Dakṣiṇā* to the brahmin".

राजन् जातमपत्यं मे सतां पुत्रफला स्त्रियः ।
स मां प्रदाय वित्तेन देहि विप्राय दक्षिणाम् ॥ Mārk P. 8.24

Importance of visiting holy places :

In the ABr. Version of the story Indra came again and again to stop Rohita from returning to his father. He preaches him to keep moving (*'cara eva iti'*). The idea of moving on to get the desired fruit has been taken up in the Purāṇas as travelling to holy places (Bhāg. P.9.7.18, Brahma P. 104). In the Bhāg P. version too Indra advised him to travel to different pilgrimage sites and holy places, since these are pious activities :

भूमेः पर्यटनं पुण्यं तीर्थक्षेत्रनिवेषणैः ।
रोहितायादिशत् शक्रः .....॥ Bhāg. P. 9.7.18

The idea of travelling to holy places is taken up in the *Brahma Purāṇa* (chap. 104). As mentioned earlier the legend here is narrated to glorify the *Gautamī tīrtha.* When Hariścandra declared that he would rather die of the disease than sacrifice a brahmin to save

8. नापुत्रस्य परो लोकः विद्यते नृपसत्तम ।
विना पुत्रेण राजेन्द्र स्वर्गमोक्षौ सुदुर्लभौ ॥
पुत्र एव परो लोको धर्मकामार्थसिद्धये । Brahma P. 34.12

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his life, a divine voice advised him to go to *Gautamītīrtha* and perform the sacrifice which will be considered complete even without the killing of a victim. The sacrifice was performed by Viśvāmitra, Vasiṣṭha Vāmadeva and others. Viśvāmitra prayed for the release of Śunaśśepa. The gods advised them to take bath in the Gaṅgā. By this the gods who had assembled there to take their portion in the sacrifice were pleased. Varuṇa declared that the sacrifice was complete even without the killing of Śunaśśepa-

'क्रतुः पूर्णो भवत्येष शुनःशेपवधं विना'

(*Brahmapurāṇa, Gautamīmāhatmya* - 34.82)

Thus is the *Brahma Purāṇa* the place of prayers (as in ABr and *Bhāgavatapurāna*)[9] is taken up by the greatness of the holy places and their magical potency to save people from calamity (as for Śunaśśepa) and from sins (as for Hariścandra). King Hariścandra who broke his promise made to a god none other than Varuṇa, the protector of *ṛta* (i.e. law and order-cosmic as well as moral) and got punishment in the form of dropsy, later came to be regarded as great *Satyavratin.*

In the Märk P. Hariścandra underwent a series of tortures in his genuine effort to fulfill his promise made to the sage Viśvāmitra. Hariścandra now became an ideal or the pinnacle of truthfulness. Märk P. records the story of Sātyavratī Hariścandra (patronym Sātyavrati i.e. son of Satyavrata Triśaṅku) who gave away all his kingdom to the sage Viśvāmitra who had asked for a befitting *dāna* after the king's Rajasūya sacrifice. On being requested by the king to accept whatever he wished the sage asked for all his kingdom "everything except yourself, your wife and child". (Märk. P. 7. 27-28). After having given his kingdom the king had to arrange for the *dakṣiṇā* too. Contrary to the Hariścandra of Śunaśśepa legend who did not keep his word, in this story of the Märk.P. he stands as a Monument of Truth. Hariścandra underwent a tortuous ordeal in order to give the sage the *dakṣiṇā* which he owed him because he believed that -

'विशेषतः ब्राह्मणाय ह्यत्यदत्तं प्रतिश्रुतम्' Märk P. 7.38

Märk. P. further says that the truth is the highest *Dharma.* The Sun shines due to *Satya,* the heaven and earth are established in *Satya.* If placed on a balance the merit of truth outweighs the merit of one thousand Aśvamedha sacrifices.[10]

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9. स्तुत्वा देवान् प्रजेशादीन् मुमुचे पाशबन्धनात् । – *Bhāgavatapurāṇa* 9.16.31

10. सत्येनार्कः प्रतपति सत्ये तिष्ठति मेदिनी ।
सत्यं चोक्तं परो धर्मः स्वर्गः सत्ये प्रतिष्ठितः ॥
अश्वमेधसहस्रं च सत्यं च तुलया धृतम् ।
अश्वमेधसहस्राद्धि सत्यमेव विशिष्यते ॥ Märk. P. 8.41-42

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At another place in the Märk. P. (Chap. 8) Tārāmatī, the queen of Hariścandra expounds the glory of Truth. She inspires the king to follow the path by truthfulness even in the most testing situations. She says to her husband to 'leave the worries and follow his duty by following *Satya* since a man fallen from the path of Truth is hated by all. No *Dharma* is higher than following the path of Truth. All religious acts, sacrifices, knowledge and charity become futile for a man whose actions are not in accordance with his word'

अग्निहोत्रमधीतं वा दानाद्याश्चाखिलाः क्रियाः ।
भजन्ते तस्य वैफल्यं यस्य वाक्यमकारणम् ॥ (Märk. P.8.19)

She continues - *'Dharmaśāstras* contain the words of wisdom that Truth leads to liberation while falsity brings downfall (Märk. P. 8.20). The merit acquired by seven Aśvamedha and Rājasūya sacrifices is lost by resorting to falsity even once'. (Märk. P. 8.21)

The queen requests the king that 'the main purpose of having a wife is to get a son & as a son is born to me, now even by selling me, you should offer the *dakṣiṇā* to the sage' (Märk. P. 8.24). On seeing the Truthfulness, forbearance and firmness of the king and his wife Viśvāmitra was extremely happy.

सत्यं सारं च धृतिं च दृष्ट्वा सभार्यस्य च भूपतेः ।
विश्वामित्रः भृशं प्रीतः ददावविहतां गतिम् ॥ (Bhāg. P. 9.7.24)

In the Märk. P. Viśvāmitra's cruel treatment of Hariścandra is phenomenal. According to another version of this story this test of the king's truthfulness, patience and firmness is rooted in a conflict between the two great sages i.e. Vasiṣṭha and Viśvāmitra. According to *Devī Bhāgavata* (7.4) once Vasiṣṭha sitting in the Indra's court described and praised the king Hariścandra's extra-ordinary virtues. He went on praising Hariścandra saying that there could not be a more truthful and religious king, who is always striving for his people's happiness. He added that there never was, nor will ever be a king as generous, brave and righteous as Hariścandra. At this Viśvāmitra was furious. He said that it was wrong to praise a liar who had cheated Varuṇa and he, who did not heed to his desire to release Śunaśśepa from the sacrificial post. He referred to an incident when Viśvāmitra demanded the release of Śunaśśepa as his *dakṣiṇā* for the Rājasūya. Hariścandra expressed his reluctance to do so. He requested the sage to accept anything else and not to insist on the release of Śunaśśepa since "the pain of dropsy was unbearable". Devī bhāg. 7.16.68

At this Viśvāmitra decided to test the truthfulness of Hariścandra and vowed that if this was found true he would give the merit of all his penance to Vasiṣṭha. If this was found wrong all the merit of Vasiṣṭha would go to him.

The story further is different from the Märk. P. version in its details but the mode of

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test remains the same i.e. demand of *dakṣiṇā* after having taken all his kingdom in *dāna.*

At last Viśvāmitra's heart melted, he accepted the truthfulness of the king and gave him kingdom back. According to his vow he gave the merit of his penance to Vasiṣṭha, asked for forgivance and retreated to his *Āśrama.*

Legends and myths are not something rigid and fixed. They tend to react to the vicissitudes of Time. In the course many changes are introduced. The events take new turn or extend in a new direction. But the evolution of the legend of Hariścandra's brings forth a new phenomenon where Hariścandra's broken promise was obliterated (only hinted at in the *Devī Bhāgavata*) and his character acquires a totally new dimension which is contradictory to his bearings in the earliest version of the story. He now becomes the greatest of all *Satyavādins* and an epitome of Truth.

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JOURNAL OF THE M.S. UNIVERSITY OF BARODA

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SOME PROBLEMS CONCERNING A CRITICAL EDITION OF THE *ABHIJÑĀNAŚĀ(ŚA)KUNTALAM*

V.M. BHATT*

Introduction :

Literature written in Sanskrit is as it were a fertile land for research. Hard work in that direction is likely to yield rich harvest. But there are clear evidences to indicate that the text of works written in that language, in whatever form by the original writer, has been in course of time, tampered with - emended with additions, omissions and alterations. Thus the original reading has been rendered corrupt. The obvious reason is that the text of the original works of writers, has been transmitted through a tradition of copyists busy preparing copies of the original and then copies of copies of copies and so on. The autograph of the original writer has sunk into oblivion due to gap of centuries, and so it is, in most cases, not traceable today. Naturally the text transmitted through the process of copying would mostly be full of impurities due to alterations etc. So text-criticism attempts to collate all available manuscripts, and tries to come at the original reading, clearing all impurities that have crept in due to additions, alterations etc. during the long period of time.

1.
Five versions of the *Śākuntalam*

Looking into all available editions of the *Abhijñāna-śa(śā?)kuntalam,* one point that emerges as principal, is that there are at least two recensions of this text viz. (i) the shorter one and (ii) the longer one. The shorter recension seems to have been retained in the (a) *Devanāgarī* script and (b) the Southern scripts. The longer one is retained in three viz. (c) the *Kāśmīrī* version, (d) the *Maithilī* version and (e) the *Baṅgālī* version. So, the logical derivation is that the text of *Abhijñānaśa(śā?)kuntala,* bedecked with readings of unequal merit from the point of view of literary beauty, is five-fold !

The details concerning some printed editions following this or that recension could be placed as follows :

(1) Monier Williams brought forth a Critical Edition of the *Devanāgarī* version in

Journal of the Oriental Institute, Vol. 50, Nos. 1-4, Sept.-June 2000-2001 Issue, pp. 107-125.

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1853 A.D. Its second edition was out in 1876 A.D. (The Chowkhamba Sanskrit Series Office, Varanasi has published its 3rd edition in 1961 A.D.). The editor prepared his text on the strength of three to four manuscripts (mss.) procured by him from Eastern, Western and Southern parts of India and two more mss. written in *Baṅgālī* script. He also made use of three commentaries written by Kāṭayavema, Śaṅkara and Candraśekhara respectively. He also said that he has consulted these three commentaries before fixing any reading[1].

But unfortunately none of the three commentaries, he utilized was on the mss. of A.Śa. available in the *Devanāgarī* script. Kāṭayavema follows Southern version, Śaṅkara, the *Maithilī* and Candraśekhara, the *Baṅgālī*. Monier Williams has not made use of Rāghava Bhaṭṭa's commentary available on the *Devanāgarī* version. On the contrary, he could not secure this one. So, the result is that his text, following the *Devanāgarī* version shows some readings found in the *Baṅgālī* version ! e.g. आगामिनि चतुर्थदिवसे पुत्रपिण्डपालनो नामोपवासो भविष्यति । (M.W. p.90). Here the *Devanāgarī* version has प्रवृत्तपारणो. In इमं देवताशेषापदेशेन सुमनोगोपितं कृत्वाऽस्य हस्तं प्रापयिष्यामि । (M.W. p.115), the *Devanāgarī,* i.e. one followed by Rāghava Bhaṭṭa reads: देवताप्रसादस्यापदेशेन. That the M.W. Edition represents the Critical Text of the *Devanāgarī* version, can not be accepted to-day. (Shri Patankar has put in a great effort in this direction).

(2) Dr. S.K. Belvalkar prepared the Critical Text based on the *Kāśmīrī* version of the A.Śa. It was published by Sahitya Akadami, New Delhi in 1965 A.D. But due to his sad demise, the details concerning the Critical Apparatus utilized by him have not been furnished. Dr. V. Raghavan has placed a note in the short Introduction that this text follows the *Kāśmīrī* version.

Perhaps Dr. Belvalkar might have discussed the co-relation of the *Kāśmīrī* and *Baṅgālī* versions in his Introduction, which he has hinted at in some of his stray articles[2]. He is of the opinion that, not too longer, or not too shorter version of the love-seen of the third act should be accepted as Critical Text. So, he has not accepted the longer act III with 41 verses, as read in the *Baṅgālī* version, and also rejected the shorter one of 21 verses, as seen in the *Devanāgarī* version. But he has selected the Kāśmīrī version with 24 verses, which also includes some three to four passages and the verse: 21, viz. त्वं दूरमपि गच्छन्ती हृदयं न जहासि मे ।

1. I never failed to consult the three commentaries before deciding on the reading of my text... *Śakuntalā* by Kālidāsa, Ed. by Monier Williams, Chowkhamba Sanskrit Series Office, Varanasi, 3rd Edition, 1961 (Preface : X).
2. See : The Original *Śākuntala,* Published in "*Sir Asutosh Mookerjee Silver Jubilee Volumes*", III Orientalia, Part-II, (pp.349-59), Calcutta, 1925. And, 'The Application of a few Canons of Textual and Higher Criticism to Kālidāsa's Śākuntala, Pub. in '*Asia Major*', Leipzing, II, i, pp.76-104.

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दिनावसानच्छायेव पुरोमूलं वनस्पतेः ।। as read in the *Baṅgālī* version[3].

(3) Prof. Ramanath Jha prepared a text published by Mithila Vidyapeeth, Darbhanga, Edition, 1957 A.D. The text accepted and edited, follows the *Maithilī* version. This edition contains two commentaries by Śaṅkara and Narahari, respectively called *Rasacandrikā* and *Śākuntalaṭippaṇa*. In this version there is a speech by *Sūtradhāra*, viz. आर्ये! रसभावविशेषदीक्षागुरोः श्रीविक्रमादित्यस्य साहसाङ्कस्याभिरूपभूयिष्ठा परिषत् । अस्यां च कालिदासग्रथितवस्तुना.....। Which follows the *nāndī-śloka*. Beginning with this point, Prof. Jha has discussed in the Introduction (pp.20-25) the differences as read in the *Maithilī* and *Baṅgālī* versions.

(4) Richard Pischel brought out an edition in 1876 A.D. of the *Abhijñānaśākuntalam* following *Baṅgālī* version. It was published as Vol. XVI of the Harvard University (H.O.S. Series). Its second edition appeared in 1922 A.D. Actually the first translation of A.Śā. by Sir William John also followed the *Baṅgālī* version but that edition did not utilize the material used by Pischel. On the other hand Sir William John did not even know that there are more than one versions of the A.Śa.

In the Oxford University, Prof. Dileep Kumar Kanjilal, prepared a new Critical Text of the A.Śa. which is published in 1980 A.D. by the Sanskrit College, Calcutta. The editor has tried to establish that the text preserved in the *Baṅgālī* version is the original text of Kālidāsa's A.Śa. The editor has used the highest number of mss. and almost all commentaries in the preparation of his Critical Text, the principal ms. being the 12th century old *Nevārī* ms., which is the oldest from the point of view of age. This oldest ms. has its readings supported by seven more *Baṅgālī* mss. The editor has also used four mss. written in the *Śāradā* script. He has used nearly sixteen commentaries and notes. He has given the title : "*A Reconstruction of the Abhijñāna-Śakuntalam*" to the Critical Text that he has prepared after looking into all these older mss., commentaries and also references from works on Sanskrit poetics.

(5) In the edition of *Śākuntalam* published by Śrī Vāṇī Vilāsa Press, Śrī Raṅgam (1917 A.D. probably), we come across the Southern version. But this edition can not be called a critical one for there is no mention of the mss. material used in it. A number of commentators have written commentaries based on the Southern version, principal among them being the *Vasanta-rājīyā* of Kāṭayavema, the anonymous *Carcā,* and the *Śākuntala-vyākhyā* by Śrī-Nivāsācārya. Also noteworthy is the editing of *Sañjīvana-Ṭippaṇa* by Ghanaśyāma, done by Smt. Dr. Poonam Pankaj Raval. The task of preparing the Southern version of A.Śā., by utilizing all these commentaries is yet to be accomplished.

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3. See : *Abhijñānaśākuntalam,* Ed. by S.K. Belvalkar, Sahitya Akadami, New Delhi, 1965 A.D., (p.51).

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2.
Various views about the five versions

Kālidāsa's A.Śā. is such a wonderful dramatic composition that has moved all lovers of literature of whatever time and place. It is this popularity which has given birth to the observation. viz. काव्येषु नाटकं रम्यं, तत्र रम्या शकुन्तला..... । etc. That it is perhaps one of the greatest achievements in drama and poetry, is beyond doubt, but there is not one opinion as to the nature of the autograph written by Peot-dramatist Kālidāsa. Even if a given single connoisseur tries to fix a reading of his choice, he is likely to be in two minds now and then ! Dr. Prof. Dileep Kanjilal rightly observes that, "It is in the *Abhijñāna-Śakuntalam* that the Indological world is both united and divided.[4]"

There are various views that have been floated regarding the five versions. Some of them are as follows: Monier Williams suggests that, most scholars accept the *Devanāgarī* version as old and pure, though Pischel and some others favour the *Baṅgālī* version. The author of *Sāhitya-darpaṇa* also favours this. Many mss. of the *Devanāgarī* version have been traced from North. The scribes in this region were not learned and therefore have copied faithfully as they did not know the meaning of the text concerned. The happy outcome of this is that they did not attempt any tempering with the original script. On the other hand the scribes in Bengal were learned with the result that they attempted additions, alterations and abridgement in the original text. The illustrations to prove this point are many but we may simply draw attention to the love-scene of the third act which is four to five times longer than the *Devanāgarī* version[5].

*

The editor, Prof. Ramanath Jha holds that the edition of *Śākuntala* from the Mithila Vidyapeeth, Darbhanga carries the *Maithilī* version. He has made a comparative observation and has pointed out where the *Maithilī* reading differs from Pischel's edition, e.g. in the act

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4. कालिदासविरचितम् अभिज्ञानशकुन्तलम् , Edited by Prof. Dileep Kumar Kanjilal, Sanskrit College, Calcutta-73, 1980 A.D. preface : (page-f).
5. The MSS. of the *Devanāgarī* class are chiefly found in the Upper Provinces of India, where the great demand has produced copyists without scholarship, who have faithfully transcribed what they did not understand, and therefore, could not designedly alter. On the other hand, the copyists in Bengal have been *Paṇḍits* whose *cacoëthes* for amplifying and interpolating has led to much repetition and amplification. Many examples might here be adduced, but I will only refer to the Third Act of the *Baṅgālī* recension, where the love-scene between the King and Śakuntalā has been expanded to four or five times the length it occupies in the MSS. of the *Devanāgarī* recension - See : *Śakuntalā,* Ed. by : Monier Williams, Chowkhamba Sanskrit Series, Varanasi, 1961, (p.VII).

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IV, the verses No. 2, 3, 4 & 5 in Pischel (यात्येकतोऽस्तशिखरं०2, अन्तर्हिते शशिनि०3, कर्कन्धूनामुपरि०4, पादन्यासं क्षितिधरगुरोः०5) are read as verses No. 4, 5, 2, 3 in *Maithilī* version. In Pischel, the *purohita*'s name (Act-V) is Somarāta, in *Maithilī*, it is Somadatta. (for further discussion see pp. 20-25 Introduction by Dr. Jha.). But Dr. V. Raghavan observes in the same context, that even though Prof. Jha claims to have presented the *Maithilī* version, but such fifth version can not be separately established on solid grounds and this *Maithilī* reading can be accommodated in '*Baṅgālī - Kāśmīrī* family', for the readings seems to lean at times towards the *Baṅgālī* version and at times towards the *Kāśmīrī* version[6].

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The *Kāśmīrī* version mostly tallies with the *Baṅgālī* version, but points of difference are also many. But scholars of the eminence of S.K. Belvalkar opine that this version seems to contain the original reading at many places. He accepts that, not so long, not so short version of the love-scene in the third act, as preserved in the *Kāśmīrī* version, as the original reading[7]. Again, the MS. (B.O.R.I. Pune, No. 1875-76-1 No. 192) which he used to fix the Critical Text of the *Kāśmīrī* version, has reliable readings, and that it "has several acceptable readings.....".[8] Thus, for S.K. Belvalkar the *Kāśmīrī* version seems to contain more genuine readings.

There is not much of a difference between the Southern version and the *Devanāgarī* version. Dr. Rewaprasad Dvivedi holds that the Southern version contains readings that tally, almost 90%, with the *Devanāgarī* version of the West. The result is that in preparing the Critical Text he has found only the *Devanāgarī* version to be useful.[9]

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After Prof. Richard Pischel placed the Critical Text following the *Baṅgālī* version, Dr. Dileep Kumar Kanjilal had an access to an oldest manuscript of *Śākuntala*[10]. He also collected all available other mss. and using practically all commentaries, he established the *Baṅgālī* version as the original one. But on a closer study he has also expressed an opinion that in case of *Śākuntala,* there are, "not four or five, but seven" versions such as :

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6. See : V. Raghavan, A Preface to the Śākuntala (p.iii) in the *Śākuntalam,* Ed. by S.K. Belvalkar, Pub. Sahitya Akadami, New Delhi, 1965.
7. See : The footnote No.2.
8. See : *The Bulletin of the Deccan College Research Institute,* Pune, XX, p.21.
9. See : कालिदास ग्रन्थावली, सं. रेवाप्रसाद द्विवेदी, Pub. Banaras Hindu University, Varanasi, 1986, Editor's Note : Page - XVI.
10. Asiatic Society, Calcutta Palm-leaf MS. No.5287, R.L. Mitra Notice Vol.III, No.1274. This is the oldest MS. of the *Baṅgālī* recension bearing the date *Śaka* 1494=1572 A.D.

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(1) *Baṅgālī*, (2) *Maithilī*, (3) *Newārī*, (4) *Kāśmīrī*, (5) *Dākṣiṇātya* = Southern, (6) mixed *Devanāgarī* and (7) *Devanāgarī* of an abridged type with omissions here and there. All these were prevalent in India from very early period[11]. Details concerning so many versions and sub-versions have been coming to light gradually. The result is that scholars have realized how difficult and mixed up is the task of preparing a Critical Text of the A.Śā.

Looking to the varieties of recensions, Dr. A.B. Keith has opined that none of these can be taken as conclusive[12]. Dr. S.K. Belvalkar has also observed that the final text of the A.Śā. is not contained in any single recension[13]. One point has to be carefully noted, and it makes the whole of Gujarat proud, that according to Prof. Dileep Kumar Kanjilal, it was Prof. B.K. Thakore (A professor of History from Gujarat State) who was the first to make a total effort in the direction of how to prepare the Critical Text of the A.Śā[14]. Prof. Thakore in his essay[15] entitled, "The Text of the Śakuntalā", has made it clear that not a single available recension seems to contain the original reading fully. He suggested to fix up a Critical Edition taking into consideration all that is the best, appropriate dramatic. To quote his words in full : "Even our oldest manuscripts of it are very modern. If we leave the matter entirely to the orthodox methods of the mere Sanskrit scholar, we can advance no further than three *Śakuntalās,* the *Devanāgarī,* the *Baṅgālī* and the *Kāśmīrī, Śakuntalā,* however , is not an ordinary play, it is the noblest product of the Sanskrit Drama, the most perfect work of the greatest poet of historical India. Cultured humanity cannot possibly tolerate three divergent *Śakuntalās* or even two. It must have one single definitive *Śakuntalā* acceptable to all competent judges. And above all, in Kālidāsa, we are dealing with an author about whom we can assert categorically that if we can only discover from amongst the variants before us that one which is unquestionably the beautiful, the most pregnant, the most appropriate, and the most dramatic, that one is also unquestionably what Kālidāsa must have written, and not the others. This, at any rate, is the principle of selective comparison I advocate. (See : The Text of the *Śakuntalā,* Section first, page.5).

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11. See : *A Reconstruction of the Abhijñānaśakuntalam,* Ed. by Prof. D.K. Kanjilal, Sanskrit College, Calcutta, 1980 (p.7).
12. We must hold that neither recension is of conclusive value. See : *Sanskrit Drama* by A.B. Keith, OVP, London, 1959 (page: 155).
13. The final text naturally belongs to no particular recension see : *"The Original Śākuntala"*, Pub. in Orientalia (III), Part-II, Calcutta, 1925 (pp.349-59).
14. Mr. B.K. Thakore, who was the first man to veture a thought provoking and all-round approach to the problem. See : *A Reconstruction of the Śakuntalam* by D.K. Kanjilal, Preface : Page-3.
15. The text of the *Śakuntalā,* (A paper read at the first Oriental Conference, Poona, 1919) by Prof. B.K. Thakore, Pub. by D.B. Taraporewala Sons and Co. Bombay, 1922 A.D.

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3.
Interpolations, Variants and their reasons

We saw that of the three plays of Kālidasa A.Śā., the best one has its text preserved in four to five versions. A study of interpolations and variants that catch the eye in all these five versions, will prove to be of great interest, for beginning with the very title of this work, down to its epilogue (*Bharatavākyam*) the text shows terrible corruption, alteration, addition and variants. The *Baṅgālī* version has the title as "*Abhijñāna-Śakuntala*", while the *Devanāgarī* version has "*Abhijñāna-Śākuntala*". In the epilogue whether the reading is *Śrutimahatī* or *Śrutamahatī* (or even *Śrutamahatām*) is also debatable. So, before talking about the Critical Edition of A.Śa./Śā., it is absolutely necessary to look into such innumerable alterations and variants :

(1) In the *Devanāgarī* and Southern versions of A.Śā., we have 21 to 24 verses in the third act, but in the *Maithilī* and the *Baṅgālī* versions, there are 40-41 verses. Thus against the shorter text of the *Devanāgarī* version, in the *Baṅgālī* version a whole scene seems to have been added, e.g. Anasūyā says बहुवल्लभा राजानः श्रूयन्ते । (The King in reply says: परिग्रहबहुत्वेऽपि द्वे प्रतिष्ठे कुलस्य नः । Here, Śakuntalā observes that her friends have to beg pardon of the King for crossing common etiquette. There upon the friends say that the one who said, 'not to, detail the King who is separated from his harem, has to beg pardon. The King here says that he would forgive this fault only if this lady with thighs like Rambhā would agree to sleep with him on the grass-bed[16]. On this Priyaṁvadā comments that, "न एतावता पुनः तुष्टिः भविष्यति ।" Thus there is an open dialogue referring to the love in union. After this the friends go away under the pretext of uniting the young one of a deer with its mother. Duṣyanta takes charge of looking after Śakuntalā and tries to convince her that the *gandharva* form of marriage is acceptable even to the elders. But Śakuntalā gets up and slips away and the King follows her. Seeing that he is out in the Sun while stepping out of the bower, he returns inside the bower and picking up the lotus stalk of Śakuntalā presses it with his bosom. Śakuntalā who was standing at some distance sees all this. She re-enters the bower under the pretext of recovering her lotus-stalk-ornament. The King says : जीवितेश्वरी मे प्राप्ता । and begs to slip the lotus-stalk-ornament in Śakuntalā's hand. Both sit together. Śakuntalā asks him to make hurry: त्वरतां त्वरताम् आर्यपुत्रः । The King is happy to listen to these words and adds : भर्तुराभाषणपदमेतत् । i.e. These words are directed to one's husband. By that time the pollen fallen from the flower-earing of Śakuntalā turns her eyes tearful. The King takes advantage of this and suggests that if she accepts, he would clear the dust from the eye by blowing it up. He tries to lift her face and Śakuntalā tries to stop him. Meanwhile a suggestion

16. अपराधमिमं ततः सहिष्ये यदि रम्भोरु तवाङ्गसृष्टे ।
कुसुमास्तरणे क्रमापहं मे सुजनत्वादनुमन्यसेऽवकाशम् ॥
- See : Richard Pischel's edition (pp.35) has verse No.24.

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is dropped from behind the curtain, viz. चक्रवाकवधूके आमन्त्रयस्व प्रियसहचरम् उपस्थिता रजनी । This scene is not read in the *Devanāgarī* version. Dr. S.K. Belvalkar has accepted this scene in the *Kāśmīrī* version by shortening it with some omissions.

In the same way in the *Kāśmīrī* version (Śā., act VII), there is an interlude - *praveśaka.* It contains a dialogue and dance of two celestial dancers - nymphs - "Nākalasikā". It informs the spectators that when the disturbance caused by demons was removed, Indra has ordered Mātali to see Duṣyanta back home on earth. This interlude is read only in the *Kāśmīrī* version. It is not read either in the *Devanāgarī,* Southern, *Maithilī* or *Baṅgālī* version. In short, this is also an interpolation.

(2) Even the names of characters in this play read differently. Thus, the hero is called दुःषन्त, दुष्मन्त, दुष्वन्त, and दुष्यन्त, in different scripts belonging to different versions. Accordingly the Editors of the Critical Editions have also accepted difference in this name. Similarly, the *Vidūṣaka* is also called Mādhavya, Māḍhavya and Maṇḍavya and Śakuntalā's friend is Anasūya or Anusūyā. Similarly, we have Pārvatāyana or Vātāyana, Dhanamitra or Dhanavṛddhi, Śarṅgarava or Śārṅgarava, Haṁsapadikā or Haṁsavatī etc.

(3) The interludes before Act III, IV and VI are termed *Praveśaka* in the *Baṅgālī* and *Maithilī* versions, while the *Kāśmīrī, Devanāgarī* and Southern versions call them *viṣkambhaka* in the Acts III, & IV and *Praveśaka* in the Act VI. Dr. Rewaprasada Dvivedi has called these as *viṣkambhaka, miśraviṣkambhaka* and *miśraviṣkabhaka* respectively.

(4) In the Baṅgālī and *Maithilī* versions each Act is given a separate name such as Act-I is called *ākheṭaka*, Act-II is called *ākhyānugupti*, Act III is called *Śṛṅgārabhoga*, Act-IV is called *Śakuntalāprasthāna*, Act V is called *Śakuntalāpratyākhyāna*, Act VI is called *Śakuntalāviraha* and Act VII is called *Śakuntalāsaṁvardhana.* But of course in the *Baṅgālī* Act VII, and in the *Maithilī* Act-II are without names. Apart from these two versions no names are attached to any act in any other versions.

(5) The number of verses in each versions is different. The table below shows this:

	Baṅgālī	*Maithilī*	*Kāśmīrī*	*Devanāgarī*	Southern
Act-I	33	33	30	34	29
II	19	19	18	18	18
III	41	40	24	28	24
IV	24	26	23	22	22
V	32	34	33	30	31
VI	37	37	32	32	32
VII	35	36	36	35	35
Total	221	225	196	199	191

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(6) The number of stage directions also differ, Dr. Dileep Kumar Kanjilal suggests the following :

	Versions	Stage-directions							Total
1.	Baṅgālī	I 98	II 49	III 97	IV 76	V 70	VI 101	VII 83	574
2.	*Maithilī*	98	51	97	86	68	106	86	592
3.	*Kāśmīrī*	105	53	100	90	75	110	90	623
4.	Abridged *Devanāgarī*	88	45	54	80	60	92	72	491
5.	Mixed *Devanāgarī*	92	49	57	82	61	95	75	511
6.	Southern	88	45	54	80	60	93	73	493

This deduction shows that the number of stage-directions increase from *Baṅgālī* to *Maithilī* and *Kāśmīrī* versions respectively. On the other hand in the abridged versions of the *Devanāgarī* and Southern versions the number is almost identical with a slight increase in mixed *Devanāgarī* version[17].

(7) In almost all the versions of *Śa(Śā)kuntalam,* the *Vidūṣaka, Nāgaraka-Śyāla,* Śakuntalā, her friends Gautamī and Ceṭī speak *Śaurasenī Prākṛta*; the two police-officers, fisherman and Sarvadamana speak *Māgadhī Prākṛta,* the love-letter by Śakuntalā, the songs of *Naṭi* and *Haṁsapadikā,* presented in *Prākṛta-āryā*'s are in *Mahārāṣṭri-Prākṛta.* Thus in the *Śakuntalam* there is a simultaneous use of *Śaurasenī, Māgadhī* and *Mahārāṣṭrī Prākṛtas.* But in different versions their forms are seen to be different. We may illustrate this by quoting the following:

(a) नन्वार्यमिश्रैः प्रथममेवाज्ञप्तमभिज्ञानशाकुन्तलं नामापूर्वं नाटकं प्रयोगेऽधिक्रियताम् । The speech by *Naṭī* is in *Śaurasenī Prākṛta.* In *Baṅgālī* version we have णाडअं for नाटकं , in *Maithilī* णालअं, *Devanāgarī* version has णाडअं, *Miśra-Devanāgarī* has णाटअं, *Kāśmīrī* has णाडअं and Southern version has णाडअं. Similarly ततो वसन्तोदारसमये तस्या उन्मादयितृकं रूपं प्रेक्ष्य....। is Anasūyā's speech. The fourth word in it is differently noted : In *Baṅgālī* उन्मादइत्तअं, in *Maithilī* उन्मादइत्तकं, in *Devanāgarī* उन्मादयित्त अं, or उन्मादइत्तअं, in *Miśra Devanāgarī* उन्मादअत्तअं, *Kāśmīrī* and Southern versions have उन्मादइत्तअं. These different forms are seen in *Śaurasenī Prākṛta.*

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17. See : *A Reconstruction of the Śakuntalam,* Ed. by Prof. Dileep Kumar Kanjilal, Sanskrit College, Calcutta, 1980, Chapter two, page: 55.

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(b) In Act VI, after captivating the fisherman the Śyāla observes: अङ्गुलीयकदर्शनमस्य विमर्शयितव्यम् । राजकुलमेव गच्छामः । This is spoken in *Māgadhī*. The word राजकुलम् is राअउलं, in *Baṅgālī* राउलं, in *Maithilī* and *Devanāgarī* and also in *Miśra Devanāgarī*, in *Kāśmīrī* राअउलं ॥

(c) The season-song of *Naṭī*, in the introduction of the play, reads as :

ईषदीषच्चुम्बितानि भ्रमरैः सुकुमारकेसरशिखानि ।
अवतंसयन्ति दयमानाः प्रमदाः शिरीषकुसुमानि ॥

Let us take the verb अवतंसयन्ति. This song is in the *Mahārāṣṭrī Prākṛta*. The different forms are read as in *Baṅgālī* - अवअसअन्ति, in *Maithilī* अवअंसअन्ति, abridged *Devanāgarī* त्तदंसअन्ति, in *Miśra Devanāgarī* ओदंसयन्ति, in *Kāśmīrī* अवदंसअन्ति and in the Southern version it is ओदंसअन्ति ।

Similarly, the structure of *pathyā-āryā* according to *Piṅgala* is : in both the lines there must be $7\frac{1}{2}$ *gaṇas*, in the first, third, fifth and seventh *gaṇa*, there should not be 'Ja' *gaṇa* (i.e. ∪ – ∪), and in the second half the arrangement should be identical with the first half but in the sixth *gaṇa*, only one *laghuakṣara* should be there. Now this structure is presented only in the *Baṅgālī* version. e.g.

खणचु । म्बिआईं । भमरे । हिंउअ । सुउमा । रकेस । रसिहा । इं । $7\frac{1}{2}$
अवअं । सअन्ति । सदयं । सिरीस । कुसुमा । ईं । पमआ । ओ ॥ $7\frac{1}{2}$

The Sanskrit rendering is -

क्षणचुम्बितानि भ्रमरैः ऊहत सुकुमारकेसरशिखानि ।
अवतंसयन्ति सदयं शिरीषकुसुमानि प्रमदाः ॥

In the rest of the versions, viz. *Maithilī*, *Devanāgarī*, and Southern the *āryā* is faulty.

*

Fortunately, which variant can be acceptable in *Śaurasenī*, *Māgadhī*, and *Mahārāṣṭrī Prākṛta* in the *Prākṛta* speeches, in a Critical Edition has been ably determined by Richard Pischel. So, to this extent the editing of *Prākṛta* passages has been satisfactorily accomplished. Prof. Dileep Kumar Kanjilal writes: Pischel's text presents the correct reading of the *Prākṛta* portions.... it shows the near perfect standard of restoring a text from the MSS. critically." (A Reconstruction of the *Śakuntalam*, page. 174).[18] A noteworthy point that can be added in this respect is that the Sanskrit rendering of these *Prākṛta* passages by modern editors deserves re-examination. e.g. the *Prākṛta* language does not show forms in the dative.

18. However, we may add that Pischel's observations could be verified by consulting our esteemed colleague Dr. K.R. Chandra, Ahmedabad.

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Vararuci (6-64) has commanded in '*Prākṛta-Prakāśa*' that for dative, genetive has to be used. Now those who have given Sanskrit rendering have over-looked this and instead of placing the original in dative, they have used the genetive in Sanskrit also. e.g. एत्तिओ वधूजणस्स उवदेसो । should be एतावान् वधूजनाय उपदेशः । and not एतावान् वधूजनस्य उपदेशः । in Sanskrit. My article, viz. संस्कृत नाटकान्तर्गत प्राकृत षष्ठ्यन्त रूपों का संस्कृत में छायानुवाद । could be consulted for advantage in this respect.[19] In all the so called Critical Editions of *Śākuntala* this point is overlooked.

(8) Now, we will pick up some illustrations from different Acts in all the versions and see what type of variants are located.

Act-I : (i) In the beginning of this drama, the *Naṭī* sings a season-song. Thereafter the stage-director enters and asks : तदिदानीं कतमत्प्रकरणमाश्रित्यैनम् आराधयामः । The *Devanāgarī* versions accepted by Rāghava Bhaṭṭa, has this reading. The *Baṅgālī* version has तत्कतमं प्रयोगमाश्रित्यैनमाराधयामः । Due to *Naṭī*'s song the spectators look as it were they are painted in a picture. The *Sūtradhāra* is also not above this influence. He inquires as to which *Nāṭaka* is to be staged. But instread he inquires as to which *Prakaraṇa* is to be staged ? The suggestion is that this play is a play of loss of memory, of *rāga-baddha-citta-vṛtti,* i.e. of mental activity captivated by attachment ! This beauty is not conveyed in the variant that shows *Prayoga* in place of *Prakaraṇa.*

(ii) The hermit says: न खलु न खलु बाणः सन्निपात्योऽयमस्मिन् । मृदुनि मृगशरीरे पुष्पराशाविवाग्निः ॥ This verse is read in the *Baṅgālī* and *Maithilī* versions, but is not read in *Kāśmīrī* and Rāghava's versions. Śrīnivāsācārya commenting on this, observes that तूलराशौ इव is a variant available here in some of the Southern manuscripts.

(iii) By the end of Act-I, the king says : गच्छति पुरः शरीरं धावति पश्चादसंस्तुतं चेतः । This follows the *Devanāgarī* and *Kāśmīrī* versions. The *Baṅgālī* version has असंस्थितं चेतः । *Maithilī* version also reads likewise. But Ghanaśyāma, a commentator from South offers: असंस्कृतं चेतः ।

Act-II : (iv) In the beginning of the Second Act, *Vidūṣaka* bemoan his fate. He says: आश्रमपदं प्रविष्टस्य तापसकन्यका शकुन्तला मम अधन्यतया दर्शिता । This is read in *Devanāgarī, Baṅgālī, Maithilī* and *Kāśmīrī* versions. But two commentaries from South, viz. the authors of दिङ्मात्रदर्शना and चर्चा have : ममोदरस्य अधन्यतया ।

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19. See : *Journal of the Ganganath Jha Kendriya Sanskrit Vidyapeeth,* Allahabad, Vol.XI-III, January 1987 (Pub. in 1991), pp.263-271.

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(v) Seeing Duṣyanta arriving, *Viduṣaka* observes: एषः बाणासनहस्तो हृदयनिहितप्रियजनो वनपुष्पमालाधारी इत एवागच्छति प्रियवयस्यः । This is read in the *Baṅgālī* version. In the *Maithilī* there is a slight variation, viz. हृदयनिहितप्रियतमो. But there is a change in the *Kāśmīrī* version, which has : राजा बाणासनहस्ताभिर्यवनीभिः परिवृतो वनपुष्पमालाधारी इत एवागच्छति । And the *Devanāgarī* version goes even further : एष बाणासनहस्ताभिः यवनीभिः वनपुष्पमालाधारिणीभिः परिवृतो इत एवागच्छति प्रियवयस्यः । Such variants could be effective on the aspect of *āhārya-abhinaya,* i.e. setting and stage-decoration etc.

(vi) *Viduṣaka* taunts the king who is attached with Śakuntalā, a girl of the hermitage. The words, are : भो यथा कस्यापि पिण्डखर्जूरैः उद्वेजितस्य तिन्तिडिकायां श्रद्धा भवति, तथा अन्तः पुरस्त्रीरत्नपरिभोगिनो भवत इयं प्रार्थना । In the *Maithilī* we have अभिलाषः for श्रद्धा and अभ्यर्थना for प्रार्थना. The *Kāśmīrī* has a mixture of these two. In Rāghava Bhaṭṭa's *Devanāgarī* and Southern versions an important variant is seen as : स्त्रीरत्नपरिभाविनः for स्त्रीरत्नपरिभोगिनः ।

(vii) Karadhaka who has arrived from Hastinapura- says : आगामिचतुर्थदिवसे पुत्रपिण्डपालनो नाम उपवासो भविष्यति । तत्र दीर्घायुषा अवश्यं वयं संभावयितव्या इति । This reading is found in *Baṅgālī* version. In the *Maithilī* version we have पुत्रपिण्डपर्युपासनः and the *Kāśmīrī* version has पुत्रपिण्डाराधनो० । But the *Devanāgarī* version shows a major change as : आगामिनि चतुर्थदिवसे प्रवृत्तपारणो मे उपवासो भविष्यति । The Southern version has निर्वृत्तपारणो as variant.

Act-III : (viii) In the Third act, that describes the *Gāndharva-vivāha,* Śakuntalā talks to her friends and requests them to find some way so that she may remain in favour of the king. The *Baṅgālī* version has : तद् यदि वामनुमतं ततः तथा प्रवर्तेयाम् यथा तस्य राजर्षेः अनुकम्पनीया भवामि । अन्यथा स्मरतं माम् । The *Maithilī* has : अन्यथा, प्रसीदत सिञ्चत इदानीं मे उदकम् । Which is a variant. The *Kāśmīrī* version has : अन्यथा स्मरतं माम् । But the Southern version like *Maithilī* has अन्यथाऽवसिञ्चतमिदानीं मे उदकम् । The *Devanāgarī* version goes still further and offers : अन्यथाऽवश्यं सिञ्चतं मे तिलोदकम् ।

(ix) According to *Devanāgarī* and Southern version, the two friends slip away under the pretext of seeing the young one of the deer united with its mother. Then the King is introduced as a person who tries to woo and win over Śakuntalā. He is ready to shampoo the lotus-red feet of Śakuntalā. But Śakuntalā politely declines the offer for she does not want to disrespect the respectable. She tries to walk away. Duṣyanta stops her and asks her not to leave the lotus-bed. Śakuntalā asks him to observe limits. The King tries to persuade her by suggesting that there are cases where the elders have upheld *Gandharva-vivāhas* of daughters of King-ascetics. Śakuntalā holds her ground and asks him to leave her and she still would choose to consult her friends. The King tries to lift up her lips to imprint a kiss

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saying that he won't leave her till he tastes the nectar of her lip like a bee kissing a flower for honey. Śakuntalā gesticulates to forbid him and by then a voice from behind the curtain suggests them to be alert and get separated. Thus the love-scene is over.

Against such short and suggestive love-scene, in the *Baṅgālī* and *Maithilī* versions we have this scene almost double in length and duration. In that scene the King asks Śakuntalā to get his fatigue removed by allowing him to sleep with him on the lotus-bed and thus compensate for her earlier lapse when she had observed that the King should not be separated from his harem. After her friends go away, she tries to get away from the King quite often. She asks the King to observe decorum and that ascetics could be moving around. The King holding the end of Śakuntalā's skirt almost steps out of the bower in a hurry. Realizing that they are in the open he leaves her and gets back into the bower. Śakuntalā also withdraws to an extent and requests him :

अनिच्छापूरकोऽपि संभाषणमात्रकेण परिचितोऽयं जनो न विस्मर्तव्यः ।

The King says that even when you slip away from me, you do not leave behind my heart like shadow not leaving the root of a tree's trunk at the end ff the day. Hearing this Śakuntalā becomes weak and is unable to move away, much further. The King tries to console himself with the help of lotus-stalk-ornament left over by Śakuntalā. Śakuntalā returns to the scene under the pretext of picking up the lotus-stalk-ornament. The King says that he would return the bracelet provided she allows him to slip it in her hand. Both of them sit on the stone-bench. Śakuntalā says : त्वरतु त्वरतु आर्यपुत्रः ! The King is happy hearing the address 'आर्यपुत्र'. Meanwhile pollen carried away by the blow of wind drops in Śakuntalā's eye and her sight is hindered. The King wants to remove it with the blow from his mouth. But Śakuntalā has no faith in him. The King assures her that without the order of her lady-ship the servant won't go any further !

Accordingly he lifts her face and removed the dust from her eye with the help of a blow from his mouth. Then he observes that the bee is satisfied even by the fragrance of the lotus. Śakuntalā asks him as to what he would do in case of dissatisfaction. Immediately the King tries to catch hold of her but the words suggesting them to be alert and get separated are heard from behind the curtain.

Thus, as compared to the *Devanāgarī* version the *Baṅgālī* version has a lengthier love-scene, which is full of much physical acting also. On the other hand Dr. S.K. Belvalkar has accepted in the *Kāśmīrī* version only four-to five sentences from the *Baṅgālī* version dialogue. For example the King says : It is not good to go out in the open Sun leaving the lotus-bed. But Śakuntalā still goes. The King follows her and holds her skirt. Śakuntalā asks him to observe decorum, as ascetics must be moving around there. The King on realizing

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that he too is much in the 'open' returns to the bower. Śakuntalā tells him that he should not forget her who, has though not fulfilled his desire, and has made him happy only by soothing words alone. The King says that even if you are slipping away you are not leaving my heart. This moment, चक्रवाकवधूके, आमन्त्रयस्व प्रियसहचरम् । is heard and the scene is over.

(x) At the end of the Third act the hero who feels cheated says : मुखमंसविवर्ति पक्ष्मलाक्ष्याः कथम् अप्युन्नमितं न चुम्बितं तु ।। This is read in *Devanāgarī*, Southern and *Kāśmīrī* versions. Ānandavardhana observes that 'तु' *nipāta* is suggestive here. (We know that when 'तु' is spoken the lips get rounded in a way suggesting an attempt to kiss). But in the *Baṅgālī* and *Maithilī* versions we have न चुम्बितं तत् । where तत् goes with मुखम् in keeping with grammar. But the suggestivity slips away.

Act-IV : (xi) If we look for the *śloka-catuṣṭaya* in Act-IV, in the *Baṅgālī* version we have (a) in यास्यत्यद्य॰. etc., अन्तर्बाष्पभरोपरोधि गदितं चिन्ताजडं दर्शनम् । (b) in पातुं न प्रथमं व्यवस्यति जलं युष्मास्वसिक्तेषु या । etc. We have (c) in अस्मान् साधु विचिन्त्य॰ the fourth line has दैवाधीनमतः परं न खलु तत्स्त्रीबन्धुभिर्याच्यते । (d) in शुश्रूषस्व॰. we have भूयिष्ठं भव दक्षिणा परिजने भोगेष्वनुत्सेकिनी । (e) in the verse अर्थो हि कन्या॰, we have जातोऽस्मि सद्यो विशदान्तरात्मा चिरस्य निक्षेपमिवार्पयित्वा । And the *Maithilī* version also reads identically. While in *Devanāgarī*, Southern and *Kāśmīrī* versions in the above verses, the variants read as (a), (b), (c), (d) and (e).

Act-V : (xii) In the beginning of act V, in *Devanāgarī* and Southern versions, the King and *Vidūṣaka* enter. *Vidūṣaka* draws the King's attention to अभिनवमधुलोलुपो भवान् etc. and the king speaks - रम्याणि वीक्ष्य मधुरांश्च निशम्य शब्दान् । etc. He sends the *Viduṣaka* to *Haṁsapadikā* and then the Chamberlin (*Kañcukī*) enters. His speech आचारं इत्यवहितेन मया गृहीता॰ । etc. follows.

In the *Baṅgālī*, *Maithilī* and *Kāśmīrī* versions, the Chamberlin enters in the beginning and talks about his affairs and informs about guest ascetics from *Kaṇvāśrama* who have come to meet Duṣyanta. Thereafter the King and *Vidūṣaka* enter and the song of the bards *Vaitālikau* is heard. Then Haṁsapadikā's song : अभिनवमधुलोलुपो॰ etc. is heard. Thus the beginning of act V differs in these versions.

Act-VI : (xiii) The *Vidūṣaka* says to the King भोः न विस्मरामि । किन्तु सर्वं कथयित्वा त्वयैव अवसाने कथितं - परिहासविकल्पः एषः, न भूतार्थ इति । मया मन्दबुद्धिना तथा एव गृहीतम् । This follows the *Baṅgālī* and *Maithilī* versions. In these two versions, in the last verse of Act-II also we have परिहासविकल्पितं etc. In the *Kāśmīrī* version, *Vidūṣaka* says: न विस्मरामि..... etc. and in this version, at the end of the Act-II, we have परिहासविजल्पितं. etc.

The *Devanāgarī* and Southern versions also read almost the same. The words are : -

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परिहासविजल्प एषः, etc. But the word रहस्यभेदभीरुणा read in *Kāśmīrī* is not seen here.

Act-VII : (xiv) In the *Kāśmīrī* version only, in the beginning of act VII, there is a *Praveśaka*. There we have a dialogue between two celestial damsels called *cūtamañjarī* and *Pārijātamañjarī*. It is stated that Duṣyanta has started his return journey from heaven to earth. Then the two damsels dance. This scene is not read in *Baṅgālī*, *Maithilī* and Southern versions.

(xv) In the two lines of the epilogue (*Bharatavākya*) also, there are variants. The *Baṅgālī* version has प्रवर्ततां प्रकृतिहिताय पार्थिवः सरस्वती श्रुतिमहतां महीयताम् ।

ममापि च क्षपयतु नीललोहितः पुनर्भवं परिगतभक्तिरात्मभूः ॥

In *Maithilī* version the two parts are different. Such as महीयसाम् and परिगतभक्तिरात्मना । In *Kāśmīrī* there is one word different as compared to the *Baṅgālī* version quoted above. It is परिगतशक्तिरात्मभूः But in Rāghava Bhaṭṭa's *Devanāgarī* version, we have सरस्वती श्रुतमहतां महीयसाम् and परिगतशक्तिरात्मभूः । Dr. Rewaprasada Dvivedi has सरस्वती श्रुतिमहती महीयताम् ।

All the fifteen points discussed under item no.(8), clearly suggest that beginning with the title Śa(śā)kuntala to the last *Bharatavākya* variants are noted at all places. Hardly a place could be spotted where there is no change or corruption in a given reading.

* *

In *Śa(śā)kuntalam*, these variants have crept in due to a number of factors, e.g. mistakes due to the ignorance or lapse of concentration on the part of the scribe, the impurities creeping in while transcribing, this being due to lack of mastery of both the scripts, use of simple synonyms for difficult words, use of grammatically pure forms, change of *Prākṛta* forms that go on changing in course of time, use of regional names, changes to bring out greater suggestivity, trying to generate more laughter through speeches of the *Vidūṣaka* etc. The biggest factor could be the staging at different places, under different circumstances and times, with every fresh presentation the stage-director and his dramatic troupe could have introduced innovations catering to local choice. Additions, alterations and omissions could have resulted by this. This point is supported by our observation under (6), where a terrific difference in stage-directions was noticed above. The stage-director concerned could have continued the practice of introducing changes keeping in mind the local taste. The present writer has contributed a paper viz. शाकुन्तल के विदूषक की उक्तियों मे पाठान्तरों का एक समीक्षात्मक अध्ययन ।[20] Which tries to suggest which recension could be the central point from which variants could have emerged, or exchanged.

20. This paper was read at the All India Oriental Conference, Poona Session XXXVI, 1993 and was awarded Dr. V. Raghavan Prize.

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4.
The number of manuscripts (MSS) and testimonia

Considering the five versions of the play, *Abhijñāna-śa(śā)kuntalam* and the illustrative variants shown above, the task of restoration of Kālidāsa's original text seems to be full of great difficulties, if not impossible. But if an attempt has to be made in that direction, we should know what should be with us to start with. Dr. Dileep Kumar Kanjilal has made an all-out effort in this direction, and the result is that perhaps among some 150 odd editors of A.Śa. he is most noteworthy, and so special with this. We will try to take note of the mss. and testimonia available in this context.

The New Catalogue Catalogorum (Madras) mentions 450 mss. which preserve A.Śa and / or its Commentaries. There are 375 Catalogues published till today, out of which Dr. D.K. Kanjilal had an access to 120. The 72 lists prepared by Dr. V. Raghavan which mention MSS. that are not mentioned in the Catalogues, are not included in the above. On the strength of these 120 Catalogues, Dr. D.K. Kanjilal had all information regarding 250 MSS. and some 56 more were noticed by him which preserved the copies of the Commentaries on A.Śa.

Now classifying these on the basis of scripts, we have 1 in *Nevarī*, 4 in *Śāradā*, 4 in *Maithilī*, 25 old *Baṅgālī*, 150 in *Devanāgarī*, and 80 in Southern scripts, such as *Grantha*, *Telugu* and *Kannaḍa* etc.

For the first time when in 1919 A.D., Shri B.K. Thakore had raised the issue of an all-acceptable Critical Text, the oldest MSS. consulted was of the 17th centuary. But when Dr. D.K. Kanjilal picked up this issue, he had an access to the *Nevārī* Ms. of the 12th centaury. The MS. is mentioned in *"A Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscript*, at the Asiatic Society, Calcutta, Vol.V, No.5289/5653. Then there are MSS. from Bikaner and deposited in the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Pune, the oldest among them being of 1532 A.D. There are other MSS. in the Asiatic society, Calcutta of 1572 A.D. Those in Paris are dated 1612 and 1671 A.D. The readings of these MSS. confirm the readings of the oldest *Nevārī* MS. (and Dr. D.K. Kanjilal relied on this MS. for preparing his Critical Edition of A.Śa.[21]

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There are 14 Commentaries on the A.Śa, but none of the Commentaries is earlier than the 15th centaury. Most of these are again from South : They are (i) Kāṭayavema's *Kumāragiri-rājīyā* (1391-1414 A.D.), (ii) Śaṅkara's *Rasacandrikā* (1450-1500 A.D.) (iii)

21. It may be noted that the oldest MS. used for the Critical Edition of the *Mahābhārata* was dated 1511 A.D., and that of the *Rāmāyaṇa* was 1020 A.D.

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Candraśekhara's *Sandarbhatīkā* (1600-1653 A.D.) (iv) Abhirāma's *Dinmātradarśanā* (date is not confirmed, but after 1400 A.D.); (v) Dakṣiṇāvartanāth's commentary (undecided); (vi) Nārāyaṇa's *Abhijñāna-Śakuntala-Prākṛta-vivṛti* (1650 A.D.); (vii) Śrīnivāsa's *Sāhitya,* (viii) Nīlakaṇṭha's *Śākuntalavyākhyā,* (ix) Bāla-govindarāja's *Govinda-brahmā-nandīyā,* (x) *Carcā,* which is anonymous; (xi) Śrī Kaṇṭha's *ṭikā,* (xii) Ghanaśyāma's *Śākuntala-Sañjīvana-ṭippaṇa* (1728-1735 A.D.), (xiii) Rāghava Bhaṭṭa's *Arthadyotanikā,* (xiv) Narahari's *Śakuntala-ṭikā* (1650 A.D.) etc. Even after 1800 A.D., some Commentaries have been written but they are not noteworthy.

Most noteworthy among the above is no.3 Candraśekhara's *Sandarbhadīpīkāṭīkā.* It can be gauged from these that there were seven traditions before Candraśekhara, e.g. 1. The one which he considers as exemplar and comments upon; 2, Śaṅkara's reading, 3. *Tirhuta or Tirabhuktiya,* i.e. Mithilā-Bihāra- reading, 4. Southern reading, 5. Eastern reading 6. *Purāṇa pustaka-pāṭha* and 7. The old book from other region.

If we attempt classification of these Commentaries from the point of view of different versions, we feel that 1) Candraśekhara comments on the *Baṅgālī* version, 2) Śaṅkara and Narahari have *Maithilī* version, 3) Rāghava Bhaṭṭa has *Devanāgarī,* 4) Kāṭayavema, Abhirāma, Carcākāra, Ghanaśyāma and Śrīnivāsācārya have the Southern version, 5) There is no Commentary on the *Kāśmīrī* version noticed till day.

That these Commentaries are of great use in Critical Text editing is explained by Dr. Dileep Kumar Kanjilal. He says that in preparing the Critical Texts of the *Mahābhārata* and the *Rāmāyaṇa* the evidence of MSS. was taken into account, and Commentaries and translations were treated as sub-ordinate. But in case of *Śakuntalam* all the Commentaries are more useful, because they preserve the tradition of different readings. Thus the Commentaries should be given equal importance.[22]

In the text fixation of A.Śa. 1) the MSS. of the play and 2) the Commentaries on the play and 3) a third important material of testimonia is derived from quotations in the works on poetics. Similarly works on dramaturgy, and anthologies are also noteworthy. In this context all the articles by Dr. T.S. Nandi with reference to works on poetics and dramaturgy should also be taken care of. He has two articles viz. (i) Fixing up of some variants from Kālidāsa (*Sambodhi,* Vol.II. 1982-83, pp.154-165), and (ii) Fixing up of some variants from Kālidāsa (*Sambodhi* XII, April 1983-January 1984, pp.89-97). Wherein different works on poetics are consulted to fix up the reading in *Śakuntalam*[23]. Allowing some credit to Dr. T.S.

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22. See : *A Reconstruction of the Śakuntalam,* by D.K. Kanjilal, Calcutta, 1980, (p.17).
23. And works on *Alaṅkāra* proper.....are greater authorities than any of the present day editor. T.S. Nandi, *Sambodhi,* Vol.II, 1982, p.145.

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Nandi, we may observe that in his effort, he has not pin-pointed as to which version this or that reading belongs to. Dr. D.K. Kanjilal has done it and has suggested that Vāmana seems to follow the *Kāśmīrī* version.[24] Thus it is supported that the larger recension of *Śakuntala* is as old as 9th centuary. Two verses read in the love-scene of the Act-III are quoted by Viśvanātha and also in *Gaṇaratna-mahodadhi*. A third verse is quoted in Vidyākara's (1110-1130 A.D.) *Subhāṣita-ratna-kośa* (verse No.493). This shows that the *Baṅgālī* version must have become prevalent by 12th to 14th centaury A.D. Barring these three verses, no portion of the longer recension is quoted by any *ālaṅkārika*.

5.

The search for the original text and views on its restoration

After taking stalk of these five versions, the problem of text fixation of *Śākuntala* seems to remain a *yakṣa-praśna* for all time. Dr. A.B. Keith holds that no recension could prove to be conclusive.[25] Dr. S.K. Belvalkar also has a similar opinion. He feels that no recension seems to present the original reading in full.[26] Dr. Dileep Kumar Kanjilal has based his efforts on the *Nevārī* MS. and though the Critical Text he has furnished is closer to the larger recension of *Baṅgāla*, he holds that it is the oldest text also and is genuine. This reading has not only the support of the oldest scribal tradition, but is also supported by works on poetics. But we fear that even Dr. D.K. Kanjilal's views also will not be favoured by all. To quote him. "It is in the *Abhijñāna-śakuntalam* that the Indological world is both united and divided". He suggests that one should not take side about whether Kālidāsa wrote this reading or that, but one should examine how much poeticians, dramaturgists, or anthologists have accepted from Kālidāsa. If such quotations go to suggest the existence of the larger recension even in 10th century or earlier, it is more advisable for people in 20th century to accept that perhaps the oldest text belonged to the larger recension.[27]

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24. It is interesting to note in this connection that all the eight poeticists hailing from Kashmir have invariably cited the peculiar Kashmirian readings of the enlarged text.....this unmistakably proves that the so-called enlarged version of the *Śākunatala* was known in Kashmir with certain alterations for several hundred years since the appearance of Vāmana. D.K. Kanjilal (p.79).
25. We must hold that neither recension is of conclusive value. *Sanskrit Drama* by A.B. Keith, page : 155.
26. The final text naturally belongs to no particular recension. See : The Original *Śākuntala,* by S.K. Belvalkar, Orientalia - II, Calcutta, 1925, page 359.
27. One must not think in terms of what is truly Kālidāsian or non-Kālidāsian but what the anthologies, poeticists, and literature of India cite from the text of Kālidāsa. If evidences testify to the existence of the alleged enlarged version before the 10th century, it would be proper for us in the 20th century to accept the same as more authentic than any interpretative reconstruction. D.K. Kanjilal, page-132.

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Against the traditional view of Dr. D.K. Kanjilal, Prof. B.K. Thakore on the other hand notices that the time gap between the original work and its available MSS. is of hundreds of years and so it is the natural task and duty of the learned to make a free and critical comparison of all the recensions and try to arrive at the origin.

We may add that Dr. D.K. Kanjilal has been over enthusiastic about his observations, that the *Bṛhatpāṭha* i.e. longer recension is quoted by Viśvanātha and others need not prove that it was the original one. For one, Viśvanātha and others belong to the eastern part where *Baṅgālī* version could have been popular, and as Dr. S.K. Belvalkar suggests the *Kaśmīrī* version also could be oldest as Vāmana (from Kashmir, 9th centuary) is familiar with this.

The *'Itikartavyatā'* - 'must' before the restoration of a Critical Text of *Abhijñāna-Śakuntalam.*

(i) The Southern recension has to be fixed by consulting all South Indian MSS. material.

(ii) All unpublished Commentaries have to be published first.

and

(iii) A Critical Text should mention all readings of whatever versions and MSS.

(iv) A search for a MS. earlier than even the *Nevārī* should be continued, for even this document is much later as compared to the date of Kālidāsa (even if it is 400 A.D.).

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THE VERSE 1.33 IN THE *KIRĀTĀRJUNĪYAM OF BHĀRAVI*: A REAPPRAISAL

RABINDRA KUMAR PANDA*

The glorious tradition of Sanskrit Poetics has never discouraged a literary critic to be an impartial observer of truth and to give his free and frank opinion about the merit of any poetic composition. It has never encouraged also to hide the fact and to find a fault in the composition which is devoid of it. The strength of criticism lies in searching the truth. Our Indian intellectual tradition has always inspired to search for the truth being free from the feeling of prejudice. We get a reflection of this attitude of healthy criticism from the study of citations. It is well-known that in Sanskrit, the Poeticians have cited the illustrative verses in their critical works from the *Mahākāvyas, Khaṇḍakāvyas* etc., of the great poets to facilitate an in-depth understanding of literary works. By doing this, the prominent Poeticians of past, in my opinion, have made some appreciable contribution to the field of Sanskrit Poetics. No sincere student can devalue their endeavour, their penetrative intelligence and their critical acumen. The great critics like Mammaṭa have attempted to explore the ingenious beauty or a shadow of poetic blemish in the verses of some great poets. Thereby he has created a scope for further study of the citations and that will surely enhance our understanding of poetry.

Here is a verse from the *Kirātārjunīyam* of Bhāravi, which is taken up in the present paper for reappraisal:

अवन्ध्यकोपस्य विहन्तुरापदां
भवन्ति वश्याः स्वयमेव देहिनः ।
अमर्षशून्येन जनस्य जन्तुना
न जातहार्देन न विद्विषादरः ॥[1]

I give here the translation of this verse made by G.N.Jha for clarity:

"To him whose anger is never futile and who is ever able to destroy his own troubles,

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Journal of the Oriental Institute, Vol. 50, Nos. 1-4, Sept.-June 2000-2001 Issue, pp. 127-132.

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1. Kale, M.R. (Ed.), *The Kirātārjunīyam of Bhāravi* (Cantos I-III), Motilal Banarasidass Publishers Private Limited, Delhi, Fourth Revised Edition, 1966, p.63.

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people surrender themselves of their own accord; on the other hand, if one is devoid of resentment, men do not mind his enmity, nor do they care for his friendship, if he is not generous".[2]

M.R. Kale has translated this verse in three different ways[3]. One may refer to it. Mammaṭa cites this verse in his *Kāvyaprakāśa* and says that the above verse suffers from the poetic blemish called *avācaka* (inexpressive) because, in this verse, the word *jantu,* which means 'animal', is used in the sense of 'not generous', which it never expresses.[4]

Dr. Jha, who has made a very good study of the poetic blemishes, explicates the argument of Mammaṭa as follows:

"In this verse the word *jantu* means a person, which is the etymological meaning- *janyate iti jantuḥ.* But it is used as an attribute to *vihantur āpadām* i.e. one who saves a man from distress and poverty. By contrast the adjectival meaning should be the opposite of it, i.e. one who does not help another by gift of money etc. But this is not understood from the word *jantu* without further qualification."[5]

But, on our examination, it is found that the argument given by Mammaṭa does not substantiate his thesis. The reasons are as follows:

Firstly, it must be kept in mind that in the understanding of the sentence - meaning of a verse, the context plays an important role. It cannot be overlooked while one investigates the significance of a word. If we take into consideration the context as an essential element that particularly helps to understand the *tātparya* in the above verse, how can we say that the word *jantu* does not express the meaning; rather it is a proper word for expressing the intended meaning. Since the context is very clear, I do not want to elaborate it unnecessarily.

Secondly, *tātparya*[6], the intention of the speaker is also equally an important factor for understanding the import of a word. It should be noted that Mammaṭa has not given the definition of *Avācaka-doṣa.* However, the definitions given by other Poeticians emphasise *tātparya* as is clear from the following:

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2. Jha, G.N. (Ed.), *The Kāvyaprakāśa of Mammaṭa with English Translation,* Bharatiya Vidya Prakashan, Revised Edition, Delhi, 1985, p.171.
3. Kale, M.R. *Op.cit.,* p.64.
4. अत्र जन्तुपदमदातर्यर्थे विवक्षितं तत्र च नाभिधायकम् । Jha, G.N., *Op.cit.,* Chapter VII, p.170.
5. Jha, Bechan, *Concept of Poetic Blemishes in Sanskrit Poetics,* Chowkhamba Sanskrit Series, Varanasi, 1965, p.168.
6. वक्तुरिच्छा तु तात्पर्यं परिकीर्तितम् । *Bhāṣā-pariccheda with Siddhāntamuktāvalī* [Translated into English by Swami Mādhavānanda], Advaita Ashrama, Almore, 1940, p.170.

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तात्पर्यविषयीभूतवस्तुधर्मप्रकारिका ।
यतो न जायते बुद्धिः पदं तत्स्यादवाचकम्[7] ॥

As I understand, the word *jantu* suggests the *asūyābhāva* for a man who is not better than an animal being devoid of necessary intelligence and physical power. In common language this word is also used many times in this sense. Here the intention of the speaker i.e. Draupadī is to insult, inject the feeling of anger and also to enthuse Yudhiṣṭhira for fighting with Duryodhana. Since Draupadī is a clever woman, she intelligently and purposely uses this word to hit at the spirit of a man who is calm, cool and naive. The context also exactly fits in the situation where a serious victim like Draupadī gets an opportunity to express the fire of her anger. The word significantly reflects the disturbing state of her mind as she notices that nobody is serious about the culprit. Thus, we can understand that the great poet like Bhāravi who is especially known for the profundity of meaning, has not whimsically used a word which is inexpressive of his or his speaker's intention. So the word in the question is used logically and not emotionally. It is neither used for any kind of metrical perfection nor for any other purpose.

In this connection it is worth while to study the views of some other literary critics. Mahopādhyāya Kushfaham Siddhicandra Gaṇi is not satisfied with Mammaṭa's interpretation. He, in his *Kāvyaprakāśa-khaṇḍana,* rejects Mammaṭa's view. He argues that even if we accept what Mammaṭa says about the meaning what is intended, i.e. 'not generous', then also, there is no problem. For, a common word like *jantu* can also give a special meaning like 'not generous' by implication, the seed of which is *tātparyānupapatti.*[8] Further, it is interesting to note that Gaṇi has given a definition of *avācaka* in the foot-note. According to him, that is *avācaka* which is devoid of *śakti*[9], the symbol given by God in the form one should understand a meaning from a word (*asmāt padāt ayaṁ artho boddhavyaḥ iti īśvarecchā śaktiḥ* or only a will of a man, for example, *Nārāyaṇa* - a name given by a father to his son - (*icchā mātram śaktiḥ yathā ekādaśa ahani pitā nāma kuryāt*). But, in the given verse the word *jantu* is not devoid of any *śakti* and therefore it is potential enough to denote the intended meaning.

Viśvanātha Kavirāja in his *Kāvyaprakāśa-darpaṇa* analyses Mammaṭa's position at length. At the end he concludes that Mammaṭa gives one more example for illustrating

7. Gopinatha Kavirāja (Ed.), *Kāvyaḍākinī of Gaṅgānanda Kavīndra,* The Princess of Wales Saraswati Bhavan Texts, No.8, Benaras, 1924, p.5.
8. अत्र जन्तुपदमदातरि प्रयुक्तम्, तत्र नाभिधायकमिति । तदपि न चारु, तात्पर्यानुपपत्त्या लक्षणया सामान्यशब्दस्यादातृत्वविशेषपरत्वसंभवात् । Parikh, R.C. (Ed.), *Kāvyaprakāśa-khaṇḍana,* Singhi Jaina Series, No.40, Singhi Jaina Shastra Shikshapith, Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, Bombay, 1953, p.37.
9. अवाचकं तत् यत् शक्तिविरहादबोधकमित्यर्थः । *Ibid,* Foot-note, p.37.

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avācaka- doṣa because he himself realises the absence of it in the verse in hand.[10]

Similarly M.R. Kale rightly remarks :

"Mammaṭa, however, seems to have misunderstood the point here. The speaker's object here is to rouse Dharma to action by stirring up his anger. It is not necessary to take *āpadām nihantuḥ* separately. Besides the poet uses the word *āpadām* and not *āpadaḥ* that can refer to poverty only. *Āpadām vihananam* may rather be by *pauruṣa* than by mere money-gifts, as in the case of the Pāṇḍavas themselves, and so the reference to the generosity is irrelevant. If we follow Malli's interpretation which is natural no fault will arise."[11]

Mallinātha perhaps does not want to create any controversy. There are other Poeticians who have expressed their dissatisfaction. For example, Gaṅgānātha Kavīndra, the author of a work called *Kāvyaḍākinī,* exclusively dealing with the topic of poetic blemishes, while explaining *avācaka,* does not give this verse of Bhāravi as an example. He particularly composes the following verse[12] which similarly contains the word *jantu* :

निर्धना अपि दातारः सेवनीया मनीषिभिः ।
भवन्ति च परित्याज्या धनवन्तोऽपि **जन्तवः** ॥

Here the meaning of the word *jantu* is clear.

But, Narendraprabha Sūri, the author of *Alaṁkāramahodadhi* does not spend even a moment to ponder over it. He follows Mammaṭa and illustrates the same verse as an example[13] of *Avācaka.* He blindly follows Mammaṭa and does not feel it necessary to give any explanation while repeating. Similarly Amṛtānandayogin cites this verse and accepts Mammaṭa's view.[13a]

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10. अवन्ध्येति । अत्र यत् ग्रन्थकृतोक्तं जन्तुपदमदातर्यर्थे विवक्षितमिति तेदनुक्तोपलिन्मः [तदनुक्तोपनिबद्धः ?] तथाहि 'जन जनने' धातोः व्यत्याद्रितस्य [?] जंतुशब्दस्य कृतजन्मग्रहणमात्रैः पौरुषहीन एव वाच्य अवन्ध्येत्यादि प्रथमार्द्धस्य हि द्वितीयार्द्धवैधर्म्येण समर्थकं, अवन्ध्यकोपत्वमेधवहि [मेव हि ?] वैधर्म्येणामर्षशून्यत्वं आपन्निवृत्वमेव चासमनन्तरोक्तप्रकारं जन्तुत्वम् । मित्रहेतुक आदरभावः, शत्रुहेतुको भयाभावश्च द्वयमपि वैधर्म्येणावश्यमेव । ततश्च यः कश्चिदमर्षशून्यः स नातिकोपो (नतशिरो) भवति । तेन जातहार्देन उत्पन्नस्नेहेन जनस्यादरो न भवति, तथाभूतेनैव च विद्विषादरो भयं न भवतीत्यर्थः । एवमेवात्र पक्षे वाचकत्वदोषाभावमभिप्रेत्य पुनरन्यदाहवति [पुनरन्यमुदाहरति] हाधिगिति । Goparaju Rama, (Ed.) *Kāvyaprakāśadarpaṇa of Viśvanātha,* Manju Prakashan, Allahabad, 1979, pp. 61-62.

11. Kale, M.R., *Op.cit.* pp.65-66.

12. अत्र जन्तुपदस्याऽदात्रर्थे विवक्षितस्य तदबोधकत्वाद् । *Kāvyaḍākinī, Op.cit.,* p.5.

13. अत्र जन्तुपदमदातर्यर्थे विवक्षितं तस्य च नाभिधायकम् । GOS, XCV, 1942, p.146.

13a. Krishnamacharya, V. & Sarma, Ramachandra K., *Alaṁkārasaṁgraha of Amṛtānandayogin,* The Adyar Library, Chennai, 1949, p.63.

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In the *Sāhityadarpaṇa*, Viśvanātha, while explaining this fault, does not quote the above stated verse as an example but gives another one[14]. This clearly shows his disagreement with Mammaṭa about the fault in Bhāravi's verse. His discussion of this matter in the *Kāvyaprakāśa-darpaṇa* further strengthens his view.

In this context the references to the compositions of other poets who use the word *jantu* will not be out of place here. Kālidāsa, for example, writes :

मरणं प्रकृतिः शरीरिणां विकृतिर्जीवितमुच्यते बुधैः ।
क्षणमप्यवतिष्ठते श्वसन्यदि **जन्तुर्ननु** लाभवानसौ ॥[15]

Bhāravi also writes :

निसर्गदुर्बोधमबोधविक्लवाः क्व भूपतीनां चरितं क्व **जन्तवः** ।[16]

The modern poet Rajendra Mishra in one of his poems uses the word *jantu* as follows:

कीदृशमिदं युगम्भो विपरीतवृत्तिजातम् ।
पशवोऽतिशेरते नून् मनुजोऽनुयाति **जन्तुम्** ॥[17]

Here it is used in the sense of beast.

This is perhaps the reason why Mahimabhaṭṭa suggests another reading of this verse[18].

Now, to conclude : As I understand, the word *jantu* has been used in two senses i.e. all beings in general (*prāṇī*) and beast in particular (*paśu*) in the poetic circle. Even the words like *janturāṭ* and *jantunātha* are the evidences, which prove that the word *jantu* does not mean only *prāṇī* including human beings. So the above given verse of Bhāravi bears a significance and it conveys the poet's delicate sense or *arthagaurava*. It clearly expresses the meaning intended and has nothing to do with generous and non-generous. Apart from this the present verse also contains the *Vṛttyanuprāsa* and *Śleṣālaṁkāra (śabdaśleṣa)* which enhance the beauty of its meaning. It is surprising that the commentators like Govinda Thakkura, Jhalakikar and some others do not touch the point. Still I believe that Mammaṭa

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14. "गीतेषु कर्णमादत्ते" अत्राङ्पूर्वो दाञ् धातुर्दानार्थे अवाचकः । *Sāhityadarpaṇa*, Bharatiya Book Corporation, New Delhi, 1998, p.374.
15. *Raghuvaṁśa*, VIII, 87.
16. *Kirātārjunīyam*, I. 6.
17. *Uśati*, Vol.V.30, G.N. Jha Kendriya Sanskrit Vidyapeetha, Allahabad, 2002, p.30.
18. अत्र हि 'न विद्विषा भीः सुहृदा च नादरः' इति युक्तः पाठः ।
Dwivedi, Rewaprasada (Ed.), *Vyaktiviveka of Rājānaka Śrī Mahimabhaṭṭa*, Chawkhambha Sanskrit Sansthan, Varanasi, Third Edition, 1982, p.419.

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had no intention to find fault with this verse and to degrade Bhāravi. The verse is not so easy to understand. Its prose order also creates some difficulty in its apprehension. The *amarṣaśūnyatā* and *jantutā* do not go together. Normally, a *jantu* is that who has *krodha, kāma* etc., which are products of *aviveka*. In fact, a man who is devoid of anger cannot be said to be a *jantu*. Yuddhiṣṭhira is not therefore a *jantu* devoid of conscience. This perhaps leads Mammaṭa to point out the fault in the verse. As his work *Kāvyaprakāśa* is mainly a text-book prepared to guide the students, Mammaṭa tries to select the pertinent verses from the works of the celebrated poets just to show, how good compositions can even suffer from the blemishes like *avācaka* if one does not take proper care in selecting the appropriate word. Thus, it gives a glimpse of healthy criticism. However, it cannot just be believed that a great stalwart like Mammaṭa who has influenced more than hundred erudite scholars to comment upon his *magnum opus* can miss the significance of the verse what we have tried to focus.

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NAYACANDRASŪRI AND HIS HAMMĪRA-MAHĀKĀVYA

SATYAVRAT*

Nayacandrasūri, the celebrated author of the *Hammīramahākāvya* (HM)[1], was without doubt one of the most eminent poets and versatile scholars the Jainistic tradition has ever known. The *Praśasti* to the poem reveals it beyond cavil that Nayacandra was the grand pupil of Jayasiṁhasūri, a pontiff of the Kṛṣṇa-gaccha, who was well-known for his eloquence and manifold equipment. Besides the perceptive gloss on Bhāsarvajña's *Nyāyasāra,* Jayasiṁha is credited with the authorship of the burly poem *Kumārapālacarita* and an unnamed new grammar[2]. Nayacandra was ordained into the order by Jayasiṁha's spiritual successor Prasannacandra Sūri, but had the privilege to receive education from Jayasiṁha himself. Thus though a grandson of Jayasiṁha, he was a son to him so far as his poetic training was concerned[3]. The HM bears eloquent testimony to Nayacandra's equipment in various disciplines. He was well-versed in the art of state craft. His equipment in politics, however, is not loaded with hackneyed jargon drawn from the ancient texts. It is the practical politics wedded to the welfare of the people that has met his approbation. His erudition in grammar merits equal esteem. He seems to have mastered the intricacies of the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* and *Kāśikā* which, combined together, form, in his view, the basis of scholarship in grammar[4]. Nayacandra is the only poet who may be called the nearest approach to a modern historian. He was well grounded in the science of erotics as well. Not unlike Māgha he was indeed *smarakalāvidura.* No mean was his equipment in Veda, Dharmaśāstra, Poetics and Prosody. He was a champion of diaphanous lucidity in poetry and tends to view it as the basis of the poet's fame[5].

Date of the HM

The unequivocal reference in the *Praśasti* to Vīrama, the Tomara king, enables us to

Journal of the Oriental Institute, Vol. 50, Nos. 1-4, Sept.-June 2000-2001 Issue, pp. 133-143.

* 7/34, Purani Abadi, Near Namdev Flour Mill, Sri Ganganagar (Raj.)

1. Muni Jinavijaya, Oriental Research Institute, Jodhpur, 1968
2. *Hammīra-mahākāvya* (HM), XIV. 22-23
3. पौत्रोऽप्ययं कविगुरोर्जयसिंहसूरेः काव्येषु पुत्रतितमां नयचन्द्रसूरिः । HM, XIV.27
4. बलाबलं सूत्रगतं विचार्य सविग्रहां यो विदधीत वृत्तिम् ।
   स एव तत्तद्गुरुगौरवार्हशास्त्रज्ञधुर्यत्वमुपैति तात ॥ *Ibid,* VIII.105
5. कीर्त्यै कवीन्द्रा इव निर्मलार्थोत्पत्तिं नरेन्द्राः परिभावयन्ति । *Ibid,* VIII.9

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determine the date of the HM with a fair degree of certainty. As explicitly stated in the *Praśasti* to Jayasiṁha's *Kumārapālacarita,* Nayacandra had prepared the first accredited transcript of the poem in V.S. 1422 (1365 A.D.).

अवधानसावधानः प्रमाणनिष्ठः कवित्वनिष्णातः ।
अलिखन् मुनिनयचन्द्रो गुरुभक्त्यास्याद्यादर्शम् ॥[6]

It is evident from the verse that Nayacandra had established himself by 1365 A.D. as a logician and poet of some worth to merit notice by a man of Jayasiṁha's eminence. As stated by Nayacandra himself, he was provoked into writing the HM by the stinging remark of the courtiers of Vīrama that there was now hardly any poet of note who could be compared with the old masters[7]. Vīrama is known for certain to have lived upto 1422 A.D. His grandson Dūṅgarendra had ascended the throne of Gwalior in 1422 A.D. and ruled for eighteen years till 1440 A.D.[8] Vīrama had a long reign of forty years from 1382 A.D. to 1422 A.D. and had grown very old by 1422 A.D. when his grandson succeeded him. Nayacandra might have come into contact with him in the middle of his regime, sometime about 1400 A.D. His poetic talents had fully flowered by then. That was roughly the centenary years of Hammīra's martyrdom (1301 A.D.). As confided by Nayacandra, he was being consistently driven to write on Hammīra by none else but Hammīra himself, appearing in dream with an amazing regularity[9]. It is therefore not unnatural if he decided to offer this literary homage to Hammīra on his hundredth death anniversary. If it is permissible to draw up such a scenario, the HM may be assigned to 1401 A.D. when Nayacandra was fully equipped to write such a remarkable poem[10]. The earliest known codex (V.S. 1486 = 1429 A.D.) of the HM deposited with the Kharataragaccha Bhaṇḍāra, Kota seems to uphold the conclusion.

In view of the fact that the copyist Nayahaṁsa claims to have been a pupil of Jayasiṁha (1365 A.D?), Muni Jinavijaya's plea that the date of transcript of the MS (V.S. 1542 = 1485 A.D.) that forms the basis of Kirtane's edition of the HM is a scribal error for V.S. 1452[11], is untenable. As borne out by an inscription of V.S. 1532, composed by him, there had been another Jayasiṁha Sūri in the Kṛṣṇagaccha. Nayahaṁsa seems to have been

6. *Kumārapālacarita,* Praśasti, 9
7. HM, XIV. 43
8. D. R. Bhandarkar : Inscriptions of Northern India, No.785
9. तेने तेनैव राज्ञा स्वचरिततनने स्वप्ननुन्नेन कामम् । HM, XIV.26
10. Fateh Singh : *Hammīra-mahākāvya : Eka Paryālocana* (Prefixed to the above edition of HM), p.28
11. Muni Jinavijaya, *Saṁcālakīya Vaktavya,* HM, p.3

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a pupil of this Jayasiṁha who was evidently distinct from the author of the *Kumārapālacarita*[12]. The existence of Nayahaṁsa in V.S. 1542 cannot, therefore, be ruled out on valid ground. The very basis of assigning the HM to V.S. 1452 is, therefore, knocked out.

THEME

With 1576 verses divided into fourteen cantos, the HM is doubtless a comprehensive historical poem, dealing, in particular, with the Saga of the Chauhans of Raṇathambhor. The first three cantos form a worthy *pūrvapīṭhikā* to the poem. Canto four commands a broad spectrum. It abounds in a wealth of details which include such momentous events as the flight of Harirāja's ministers to the safe sanctuary of Raṇathambhor following Śakarāja's attack on Ajmer and Vāgbhaṭa's regaining the new citadel after foiling the evil designs of the ruler of Malava with whom he had sought refuge earlier.

Hammīra ascended the throne of Raṇathambhor on the full moon day of Pauṣa in V.S. 1339. Provoked by Hammīra's refusal to pay him tribute, Alauddin Khilji, the sovereign of Delhi, despatched a strong contigent under his brother Ulug Khan to humble the stubborn Chauhan. The attack, however, ended in a fiasco, though the Chauhan general Bhīmasiṁha lost his life, apparently through negligence but for reasons that were serious enough to provoke Hammīra to sack his Prime Minister Dharmasiṁha for faulty planning of the operation. However, the inability of his successor Bhoja to raise revenue for the royal coffers facilitated his return to the office, though that turned out to be the beginning of Hammīra's end. Dharmasiṁha's harsh taxation policy alienated the people and pushed Bhoja to cross over to Alauddin. At Bhoja's instigation Alauddin commanded his general Ulug Khan to invade Hammīra forthwith. The Khilji army this time suffered a comprehensive defeat. Ulug Khan somehow managed to save his spin. Stung by the humiliating experience, Alauddin resolved to bring the mighty Chauhan to his knees once for all. He commissioned a powerful army under the joint Stewardship of Ulug Khan and Nusrat Khan to launch massive attack on Raṇathambhor. Hammīra rebuffed with disdain the insulting terms for peace. The Muslims laid siege to the fort but were convincingly foiled in their designs by the daughty Rajputs. In one of the encounters, Nusrat was killed when hit by a mighty slinter. Driven to the wall, now Alauddin geared himself for the final encounter. Canto twelve is addressed to detailing the terrific encounter of the rival forces which left 85,000 Muslims dead in two days. The thirteenth canto represents the denouement of the poem. The Rajputs frustrated all the sallies of the Muslims. Unable to wrest the fort by force, Alauddin won over

12. Nahta, Agarchand, "Nayacandrakṛta *Kumbhakarṇa vikramavarṇanākāvyo*", *Svādhyāya*, XIV.3, p.26 (Gujarati translation by Jayant Thaker)

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Hammīra's trusted friends like Ratipāla and Raṇamalla. Comprehensively cheated and isolated, Hammīra took the field alongwith his eight friends and wreaked havoc on the enemy. When grievously wounded, he cut his throat with his sword. Canto fourteen is a touching expression of the people's grief at Hammīra's fall.

The contents of the HM, it would be seen, are grouped in two well-defined segments. The first four cantos which deal with Hammīra's predecessors from the mythic Cāhamāna to Vāgbhaṭa, form the first segment. The second segment comprise cantos eight to thirteen which detail at some length the colourful career of Hammīra, distinguished by many a virtue and foible. The main story, though relegated to the later half of the poem, is cohesive and well-executed. It is because of the homogenity of the theme that even the hackneyed digressions in cantos five to seven do not hamper the smooth movement of the theme which, in itself, is both comprehensive and well-knit. In view of the fractured nature of the theme in the later Mahākāvyas and the tendency to treat it rather casually, it is no small achievement on Nayacandra's part.

RASA

To Nayacandra poetry is synonymous with aesthetic pleasure. It is the lesser poets who resort to verbal jugglery to hide their infirmities[13]. The HM is indeed actuated by the high objective of imparting aesthetic pleasure to the reader[14]. As claimed by the author, a nectar-fount of *rasa* flows through the length and breadth of the poem[15]. Nayacandra excels in depicting the various feelings that operate in *human-breast* under different strains and situations with such a finesse that in point of the richness of sentiments alone the HM touches a high water-mark. However, Nayacandra's view about the status and sequence of the various sentiments in the HM is rather equivocal. The epithet *Śṛṅgāravīrādbhuta* applied to the poem by him seems to indicate that he accorded equal status to the erotic and heroic sentiments. But elsewhere he seems to contradict himself. In view of the greater vigour of *Vīrarasa* as compared with the sweetness of *Śṛṅgāra,* he, on the one hand, tends to treat Heroic as the highest sentiment[16], on the other, he unequivocally rates the sexual pleasure as the highest pleasure ever known to man[17]. Nay, he is inclined to accord *Śṛṅgāra* a status

13. वदन्ति काव्यं रसमेव यस्मिन् निपीयमाने मुदमेति चेतः ।
किं कर्णतर्णर्णसुपर्णपर्णाभ्यर्णादिवर्णार्णवडम्बरेण ॥ HM, XIV.35
14. सरसजनमनःप्रीतये काव्यमेतत् । *Ibid,* XIV.34
15. अश्रान्तं च समुल्लसन्त्विह रसैर्वाचः सुधासेकिमाः । *Ibid,* XIV.45
16. शृंगारतः समरसम्भवो रसो नूनं विशेषमधुरत्वमञ्चति । *Ibid,* XIV.45
17. इह सुखेषु सुखं सुरतोद्भवम् । *Ibid,* VII.97

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higher than the spiritual bliss[18], and has thereby expressed his preference for the *Rasarāja.* Perhaps, the sequence of the sentiments in the phrase *Śṛṅgāravīrādbhuta* is also a pointer to the pre-emience of *Śṛṅgāra.* That, however, should not be construed to mean that *Vīrarasa* has not found effective expression in the HM. It has rather been depicted with such intensity and profundity that it emerges as the chief sentiment of the poem. The description of the Rajputs' encounter with the Khilji hordes in canto twelve has led to perhaps the most powerful expression of the Heroic sentiment (XII. 41-57). Nayacandra's expertise in depicting the *Vīrarasa* with accordant vigour is beyond reproach (XIII. 210-225). He, however, seems to often treat the time-worn heroic motifs as a substitute of the Heroic sentiment[19], with the result the *yuddhavarṇana* in the HM smacks of an ambience of a typical *Caritakāvya.*

However, violence does not accord with Nayacandra's inherent commitment to peace (*ahiṁsā*). The frequent battles and the death and destruction unbashed therein, as detailed in the poem, are there to respect the rhetorical requirements. Otherwise, he would not advise one to fight even with such innocuous missiles as the flowers (*na puṣpair api prahartvyavidhir vidheyaḥ,* XII.83).

Nayacandra seems to be better equipped in depicting the erotic sentiment. The detailed description of the amourettes in their various nuances, in three long cantos (V-VIII) is a sure pointer to the strong fancy he had taken for working up *Śṛṅgāra.* However, the express, rather uninhibited depiction of *Śṛṅgāra* in the poem has robbed it of dignity and it has often sunk into obscenity. Notwithstanding Nayacandra's vaunt about the efficicacy of canto seven to mirror the erotic sentiment with its various contours, it has degenerated into a jumble of torrid sketches of ejaculation, inverted cohabitation (*viparīta rati*), attempts of the young timid lasses to ward off the orgy and those of the bold ladies to invite it, and the various postures struck to derive maximum pleasure from the game[20]. It is because of these unabashed details that the *Śṛṅgāra* in the HM serves to inflame passion more than impart aesthetic pleasure. Nayacandra's expertise in *Kāmakalā* has led him to draw such sensuous sketches of the amorous exchanges as tend to defy decency and may well outshine the corresponding amourettes in Bhāravi and Māgha in sheer voluptaousness[21]. Though an ancillary sentiment, the *Śṛṅgāra,* as detailed in the HM, is a powerful match to the *aṅgirasa* both in sweep and depth. It is, however, amusing to find Nayacandra rubbishing woman as a respetacle of fifth and excreta (*strīṇāṁ tathā mūtrapurīṣapātre gātre,* VIII.44).

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18. रतिरसं परमात्मरसाधिकं कथममी कथयन्तु न कामिनः । *Ibid,* VII.104
19. HM, XII.32-33, 45, 72
20. HM, VII.101, 90, 108, 112, 115, 121 etc.
21. HM, VII.108, V.71, VII.85, VIII.13 etc.

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Of the subordinate sentiments *Karuṇa* is notable for its stinging poignance. It finds powerful expression in the poem at places more than one[22]. *Raudrarasa* emerges forcefully in the description of Alauddin's frenzy (X.79) on hearing Bhoja's woes. The canvas of the HM is wide enough to include the noblest of the sentiments, the *Śāntarasa*. Bījāditya's logic to console Hammīra aghast at the death of his father, unfolds itself in quietism. "The sweet notes of the swan of Prāṇa in the lake of the body are but short lived. The tiny vessels of the Persian wheel of *Kāla* drain out water of life slowly but steadily"

क्रीडां करिष्यति कियच्चिरमेष हंसः स्निग्धोल्लसत्कलरवोऽत्र शरीरवाप्याम् ।
कालारघट्टघटिकावलिपीयमानमायुर्जलं झगिति शोषमुपैति यस्मात् ॥ VIII.127

The HM is thus distinguished by a charming interplay of the various sentiments. They are in tune with the vicissitudes of the fascinating narrative. As observed by Nayahaṁsa, the HM is a veritable repository of *rasa* (*Nayacandrakaveḥ kāvyaṁ rasāyanam ihādbhutam,* Pupil's *Praśasti,* 3).

DEPICTION OF NATURE

The depiction of the scenic beauties in a down to earth historical poem may look like an aberration. It, however, bespeaks the author's deep love for nature which provides an apt setting Sanskrit writings of various hues. Nayacandra has drawn lovely sketches of the diverse phenomena which, even if stereotyped, lend vibrance to the narrative. In view of the trends that obtained in the post-Māgha era, it is hard to come across any worthwhile description of the natural form of *Prakṛti* in the HM. What passes as depiction of its *ālambana* form is weighed down with many a literary device. He, however, excels in ornate depiction of nature. A number of descriptions of the natural phenomena in the HM are based on a variety of *aprastutas*, which, combined with serene phraseology and poetic flourishes, serve to lend them beauty and effect. The description of the sun-set merits special notice in this regard, though the depiction of the moon-rise is equally impressive. A part of the sun-orb has sunk in the western ocean, the gleam of the remaining part has reddened the sky. The lovely sight has, led the poet to imagine that Lord Viṣṇu, reclining on the Śeṣa, has covered one half of the breasts of his spouse with his hand, while the lustre of the other half has spread in the sky[23]. He is likewise convinced that the gallant of the moon has closed his lady-love, the night, in embrace so tightly that her necklace was broken in the process. It is these pearls that have assumed the form of stars in the sky (VII.26).

22. HM, VIII.117-23; XIII.182-183; XIII.160-165; XIV.1-15
23. जलशयेशशयाम्बुजनिहुतैककुचसिन्धुसुतोरसिजभ्रमम् ।
प्रवितरज्जगतां जलधेर्जले शकलमग्नमभाद् रविमण्डलम् ॥ *Ibid,* VII.5

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Nayacandra revels in personifying the nature. The nature to him is not a lifeless entity. It vibrates with a variety of emotions and responds to human weal or woe under various situations. The personification of nature in the HM is notable for the *aprastutas* employed therein, which, more often than not, are drawn from real life and are enlivened by keen observation. The device has been used with some frequency in describing the day break in canto eight. The depiction is dotted with a number of sketches, each more lovely than the other. The eastern quarter is sought to be represented as a wronged lady, enraged at the behaviour of a rogue lover (*Śaṭhanāyaka*). The moon is the rogue lover who deserts his legal wife (*pūrvā dik*) to enjoy 'himself' with another woman (*aparā dik*), and the eastern quarter is a *khaṇḍitā nāyikā*. The lustre of the sun in the eastern quarter is the fire of 'her' anger.

अवाप यस्यामुदयं विहाय तां मामथासावपरां सिषेवे ।
इत्यादधानेव रुषं हिमांशौ पुरन्दराशाऽरुणतां जगाम ॥ VIII.18

CHARACTERISATION

The HM is virtually crowded with a large number of characters, both lovable and despicable. They have an individuality of their own. One is simply enthralled to see the spectrum of valour, sacrifice, fidelity, treason, wickedness, opportunism and political chicanery and deceit represented by the *dramatis personae*. While Nayacandra is alive to their virtues, he has been harsh on their infirmities. He has not spared even his hero.

Hammīra, the hero of the poems, represents the antithesis of what a *dhīrodātta nāyaka* is supposed to symbolise. But for a rosy speck or two, he suffers from such vices and infirmities as would put even a man in the street to shame. He is an epitome of anger, avarice, shortsightedness and worse. He suffers from an abominable lack of political sagacity and diplomatic skill. His refusal to Mahim Shah to shoot down Alauddin could have been occasioned only by a foolish sense of chivalry and poor judgment. And the permission to Ratipāla to visit the enemy's camp turned out to be his undoing. He is unable to divine the intricacies of human nature and is, therefore, deceived by all including his friends. His assessment of himself *dhruvam saparivāro durmatir vibhur eva naḥ* (XIII.10) is literally true.

Contrary to Hammīra, Alauddin is a hard-boiled opportunist and a master practitioner of diplomacy. He is a ferocious warrior and an excellent strategist. His sense of time was marvellous. Even when driven to desperation after a long siege of the Chauhan citadel, he did not give in. He instead won over Hammīra trusted lieutenant Ratipāla and the store-keeper Jāhaḍa on rosy promises which he never meant to keep (*etad rājyaṁ tavaivāstu jayecchuḥ kevalaṁ tvaham,* XIII.77). He has deep understanding of human nature and

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behaviour. That is why he had Ratipāla spineed after his victory in the battle because he rightly believed that one who could not be faithful to his master, can hardly be true to anyone else.

Of the many ancillary characters, Vāgbhaṭa is the most attractive and colourful figure. He was a die-hard politician, a virtual prop to the tottering fortunes of the Chauhans. One could ignore his wise counsel only at one's own peril. He was indeed a strategist of the highest order.

With his bravery, devotion and fidelity Mahimshah is the most adorable character of the poem. While all his friends stab Hammīra in the back, he firmly stands by him through thick and thin. He goes to the extent of putting his family to sword to prove to Hammīra his credentials as a reliable friend. His devotion to Hammīra outlives the latter's death. To Alauddin's mischevious query as to what he would do to him (Alauddin)- was he to release him. Mahimshah's firm reply was *Yad Hammīrekārṣīstvam* (XIV.20)

Jājā is a steel-hearted character. He was assigned the chilling task of conducting *jauhar* which he did with amazing equipoise.

LANGUAGE AND STYLE

Besides Nayacandra's poetic talents, it is the vibrant language that has been instrumental in raising the HM to the high place it deserved by holds. In Nayacandra's view lucid language coupled with apt meaning lends greatness to a poem (VIII.9). His predilection for the meaning notwithstanding, he does not mean to be little the word though he is convinced that it is only the lesser poets who resort to verbal jugglery to conceal their poetic failings (XIV.35). The bid to embed the language with a plethora of recondite grammatical forms and thereby impart it an added hue is a sure pointer to the importance he accorded to the forceful and polished phraseology. The HM is infested with endless strings of intricate aorist forms of almost all varieties, and constructions with some very tough primary and secondary suffixes, though the learned forms in the poem pertain to almost all the sections of Sanskrit grammar[24]. He revels in employing verbal forms of the same tense or with same suffixes[25] besides indulging in various other gimmicks. These reflect the author's equipment in grammar which was formidable by all accounts.

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24. अवक् (III.70), अपीप्यत् (XIII.81), अगासिषुः (VIII.60), उपाक्रांस्त (XIII.147), समनीनहत्तमाम् (XII.11), मा स्म वृण्वन् (XII.80), ऊचिषी (IX.162), ददिवान् (XI.69), सुभगंभविष्णु (I.5), सौख्यनाडिंधमाः (IV.116), कर्णजाहम् (I.10), वार्ष्यम् (IV.27), अश्वयते (III.58).
25. शिष्यकृता प्रशस्तिः, 3

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Nayacandra's enviable command over grammar has invested the language of the HM with vibrance and vitality. It accords with the diversity of situations, emotions and sentiments that distinguish the poem and mark it out from the majority of its peers. It has lent a pleasing variety to the HM. The phraseology used to detail the erotics and pathos is marked by sweetness while tough situations like battle and anger are pervaded by *ojas*- which emanates from an abundance of compounds and cerebral syllables. Though noted for variety, the language of the HM follows, by and large, the *Vaidarbhī* style. Nayacandra's language is lucid for the most. The lucidity is what is suited to the genius of the historical narrative. Vāgbhaṭa's wise counsel to Vīranārāyaṇa and Jaitrasiṁha's political sermon exemplify the heights to which lucidity can be raised by a well-equipped poet.

शत्रुर्न मित्रतां गच्छेच्छतशः सेवितोऽपि सन् ।
दीपः स्नेहेन सिक्तोऽपि शीतात्मत्वमियर्ति किम् ? ॥ IV.95

प्रचिकीर्षसि चेद्राज्यं जिजीविषसि चेच्चिरम् ।
तदा मद्युक्तिभृंगीयं नीयतां हृदयाम्बुजम् ॥ IV.96

अकार्यं यदि वा कार्यं यन्मे रोचिष्यतेतमाम् ।
करिष्ये तदहं स्वैरं चिन्तयाऽत्र कृतं तव ॥ IV.99

This natural case has imparted sweetness to the language which also spirngs from the judicious application of alliteration. But Nayacandra's language is noted as much for *lālitya* as for its *vakrimā*[25]. The *Vakrimā* has manifested itself in the HM in the form of such figures of speech as *Utprekṣā, Virodha, Atiśayokti* and *Arthāntaranyāsa.* The following verse convincingly underscores the beauty on Nayacandra's *Vakrimā.*

यदीयकीर्त्यापहृतां समन्तान् निजां श्रियं स्वर्गधुनी विभाव्य ।
पतत्प्रवाहध्वनिकैतवेन कामं किमद्यापि न फूत्करोति ॥ I.46

It is a lovely *Atiśayokti* impregnated with *Apahnuti.* Only a poet of Nayacandra's eminence could have visualised the current of the Ganges as its scream caused by discomfiture. The Ganges was very proud of its whiteness and purity. The immaculate fame of Cakrī Jayapāla has humbled its pride. What the poor Gaṅgā could have done in the situation except screaming.

Nayacandra's control over different tiers of language has enabled him to draw lovely sketches of a variety of objects. At the touch of his pen, they emerge as verbal replicas of the respective objects under description. The liberal use of *Dṛṣṭānta* and *Arthāntaranyāsa* has thrown up a good number of wise sayings. Some of them may be listed here.

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(i) न स्वतोऽपि गुणवान् सुखहेयः किं पुनर्यदि स जीवनलीनः । VI.37

(ii) नाम्बूनि दग्धुं क्रमते दवाग्निः । VIII.85

(iii) वेश्यानां च नृपाणां च द्रव्यदो हि सदा प्रियः । IX.69

(iv) उपायसाध्ये खलु कार्यबन्धे न विक्रमं नीतिविदः स्तुवन्ति । XI.21

(v) कुर्वन्नपि हितं मूर्खोऽहितायैव प्रगल्भते । XIII.138

FIGURES OF SPEECH

Nayacandra has no fascination for the verbal jugglery. The figures of speech have been used in the HM for the purpose for which they are intended, namely, to strengthen the expression and lend clarity to it. Interestingly, it is the *alaṁkāras* based on *Prauḍhokti* that dominate the HM though not the author's favourite, the simile turns out to be the most winsome *alaṁkāra* in the poem. Nayacandra can hardly be surpassed in the use of *Gūḍhopamā* and *Śleṣopamā*. The simple fact that Vasudeva extirpated his foes has been expressed with telling effect in the garb of this 'hidden simile'.

सपत्नसंघातशिरोधिसन्धिच्छेदादसिं कुण्ठतरं निजे यः ।
प्रतापवह्नावभिताप्य काममपाययत्तद्रमणीदृगम्बु ॥ I.28

Nayacandra's skill in mustering appropriate *aprastutas* has unfolded itself in a variety of *alaṁkāras* especially *Utprekṣā, Arthāntaranyāsa, Atiśayokti* and *Aprastutapraśaṁsā*. The poem abounds in the most charming *Utprekṣās*. "*Udayarāja* repeatedly shook his head in desperation as if to extircate the arrow embedded in his heart" (III.67). "With one foot of the solider placed on one of its tusks and the other hanging down, the elephant appeared as if another trunk has emerged on its head" (XII.43). The *Arthāntaranyāsa* is also noted for telling *aprastutas*. The touch of *Śleṣa* raises its beauty beyond measure (VI.37). Nayacandra is deeply enamoured of paranomasia. An undercurrent of *Śleṣa* flows unabated throughout the poem. The figures of speech like *Virodha, Rūpaka, Upamā, Atiśayokti, Parisaṁkhyā* are based for the most on *Śleṣa*. *Virodha* based on *Śleṣa* has been used so extensively in the poem that it may well be rated as its chief *alaṁkāra*. *Śleṣa* on its own has also been used with equal verse.

कस्याप्यपाकृतगणोन्नमार्गणो लक्षाय धावति तदा स्म धावतु ।
कोटिद्वयेऽपि सति ननाम यद्धनुः सद्वंशजस्य न तदस्य साम्प्रतम् ॥ XII.74

Prativastūpamā, Tulyayogitā, Dṛṣṭānta, Vyatireka, Saṁdeha, Bhrāntimān, Yathāsaṁkhya, Samāsokti, Paryāya, Vibhāvanā, Ullekha, Yamaka, Rūpaka, Anuprāsa are some of the other *alaṁkāras* used in the HM with effect.

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METRES

Besides the lucid language it is the sweet metre suited to the context that in Nayacandra's view ensures success of a poem(I.49). He has sought to translate the ideal into practice in the body of his poem. The use of a multeity of metres (13) in Canto Ten also accords with the norm. In all twenty four metres have been pressed into service in the HM. *Upajāti* is Nayacandra's favourite metre.

The exhaustive critique reveals it beyond doubt that the HM touches a high water-mark by virtue of its poetic excellences. It can doubtless match with the best of the *Mahākāvyas.* As should elsewhere[26], its historical account is by and large authentic, well-connected and free from super natural elements. The HM is rather the only poem that may be rated as a sober history. Nayacandra represents a rare blend of a gifted poet and trustworthy historian. Unhappily, there have not been many Nayacandras in Sanskrit literature.

26. Satyavrat, *Studies in Jaina Sanskrit Literature,* Delhi, 1994, pp.141-152

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THE *SŪTRAS* OF VEDIC MATHEMATICS

KENNETH WILLIAMS*

For the purposes of this paper, by *'Vedic Mathematics'* is meant the system outlined by Shri Bharati Krishna Tirthaji in his book of that title, initially published by Banaras Hindu University in 1965 and then by Motilal Banarsidass (Reference 1). By 'The *Sūtras* of Vedic Mathematics' is meant the *Sūtras* given in that work.

Shri Bharati Krishna Tirthaji (1884-1960) was a brilliant scholar. He spent eight years between 1911 and 1918 in forest solitude in his attempt to interpret Sanskrit texts that other scholars had dismissed. This led, he says, to his discovery of a mathematical system based on sixteen *Sūtras*. He later became Śaṅkarācārya of Puri. He led a remarkable and exemplary life and however extraordinary his assertions about Vedic Mathematics may seem, his work is worthy of serious consideration.

Many questions and criticisms have been put forward relating to the *Sūtras* and also the mathematical system based on them. Regarding the system, any open-minded inquirer making a careful study of the book and subsequent research would come to the conclusion that the Vedic system has many merits and is more unified and coherent (at least at an elementary level) than the current, modern system. But we will not discuss this further here as this paper is about issues relating to the *Sūtras*.

THE *SŪTRAS*

The Vedic Mathematics system uses a collection of sixteen *Sūtras* and some sub-*Sūtras*. These are given in Sanskrit in the book " *Vedic Mathematics*". We have Shri Bharati Krishna Tirthaji's English translation for some but not for those marked with an asterisk in the list below.

1	एकाधिकेन पूर्वेण *Ekādhikena Pūrveṇa*	*By One More than the One Before*
2	निखिलं नवतश्चरमं दशतः *Nikhilam Navataścaramam Daśataḥ*	*All From 9 and the Last from 10*

Journal of the Oriental Institute, Vol. 50, Nos. 1-4, Sept.-June 2000-2001 Issue, pp. 145-156.

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3	ऊर्ध्वतिर्यग्भ्याम् *Ūrdhvatiryagbhyām*	*Vertically and Crosswise*
4	परावर्त्य योजयेत् *Parāvartya Yojayet*	*Transpose and Apply*
5	शून्यं साम्यसमुच्चये *Śūnyam Sāmyasamuccaye*	*If the Samuccaya is the Same it is Zero*
6	आनुरूप्ये शून्यं अन्यत् *Ānurūpye Śūnyamanyat*	*If One is in Ration the Other is Zero*
7	संकलनव्यवकलनाभ्यां *Saṅkalanavyavakalanābhyām*	*By Addition and by Subtraction*
8	पूरणापूरणाभ्यां *Pūraṇāpūraṇābhyām*	*By the Completion or Non-Completion*
9	चलनकलनाभ्याम् *Calanakalanābhyām*	*Differential Calculus**
10	यावदूनं *Yāvadūnam*	*By the Deficiency**
11	व्यष्टिसमष्टिः *Vyaṣṭisamaṣṭiḥ*	*Specific and General**
12	शेषाण्यङ्केन चरमेण *Śeṣāṇyaṅkena Carameṇa*	*The Remainders by the Last Digit*
13	सोपान्त्यद्वयमन्त्यं *Sopāntyadvayamantyam*	*The Ultimate and Twice the Penultimate*
14	एकन्यूनेन पूर्वेण *Ekanyūnena Pūrveṇa*	*By One Less than the One Before*
15	गुणितसमुच्चयः *Guṇitasamuccayaḥ*	*The Product of the Sum**
16	गुणकसमुच्चयः *Guṇakasamuccayaḥ*	*All the Multipliers**

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A list of sixteen *Sūtras* and thirteen sub-*Sūtras* appears in the book "*Vedic Mathematics*" and is followed by a note in brackets that "This list has been compiled from stray references in the text - Editor". There are a number of discrepancies between this list and the text however. For example the *Sūtra Lopanasthapanābhyām* is always quoted in the text as being a *Sūtra* but is given as a sub-*Sūtra* in the list. So the question arises as to the validity of this list. In 1981 Andrew Nicholas, a UK academic, met Mr. Somanath Mahapatra, a disciple of Shri Bharati Krishna Tirthaji and was shown a list of *Sūtras* and sub-*Sūtras* written in Shri Bharati Krishna Tirthaji's own hand. That list was the same as the one given in the book: both *Sūtras and sub-Sūtras* were listed in the same order, except that there was an extra sub-*Sūtra Cakravat.*

Studying the book we also find that Sri Bharati Krishna Tirthaji frequently refers to a sub-*Sūtra* as a *Sūtra.* It appears he is just being brief here, just as he refers to the *Sūtra Nikhilam Navataścaramam Daśataḥ* as the *Nikhilam Sūtra.* This explains why *Lopanasthapanābhyām* is referred to as a *Sūtra* but listed as a sub-*Sūtra.* For these reasons we will assume that the list given in "*Vedic Mathematics*" is Shri Bharati Krishna Tirthaji's list.

ORIGIN IN THE VEDAS

The main criticism in India of *Vedic Mathematics* is that the *Sūtras* have not been located in the extant Vedic literature and that therefore it is not right to give the book the name *"Vedic Mathematics".* Three responses are worth making to this :

1) Since the Vedic literature is very extensive, with many documents not having been recorded, it is still quite possible that the *Sūtras* could be located in some texts. Some Vedic texts have also been lost in floods etc.

2) The word 'Vedic' refers not only to actual texts but also has a literal meaning of 'knowledge'. Shri Bharati Krishna Tirthaji in the Prolegomena to his book wrote : "Immemorial tradition has it and historical research confirms the orthodox belief that the Sages, Seers and Saints of ancient India (who are accredited with having observed, studied and meditated in the *Araṇya* (i.e. forest-solicitude) - on physical Nature around them and deduced their grand Vedantic Philosophy therefrom as the result not only of their theoretical reasonings but also of what may be more fittingly described as True Realisation by means of Actual Visualisation, seem to have similarly observed, studied and meditated on the mysterious workings of numbers, figures etc. of the mathematical world (to wit, Nature) around them and deduced their Mathematical Philosophy therefrom by a similar process of what one may, equally correctly, describe as processes of True Realisation by means of Actual Visualisation".

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It seems reasonable that just as a mathematical technique (say vertically and crosswise multiplication) could have been rediscovered many times, so too when the processes of nature, physical or mental, are studied the same conclusions or structures could be arrived at.

This could explain why, when questioned about the occurrence of the *Sūtras* in the *Atharvaveda,* Shri Bharati Krishna Tirthaji said they were in his own *Pariśiṣṭa.* He may have believed he had rediscovered the same universal laws that were known in Vedic times.

3) It does not make any difference to the potency or application of Vedic Mathematics whether the *Sūtras* are located in ancient texts or not. In the West the validity of the name is not an important issue.

Nor can the question about the authenticity of the *Sūtras* be answered, at least from a western point of view, by finding some reference to them in the extant literature. Because they appear in a book or other text does not make them valid, it just means somebody once thought they were. But there are references in the Vedic literature to sixteen phases of the *Puruṣa* (in the *Praśna Upaniṣad* for example).

AUTHENTICITY

According to Shri Bharati Krishna Tirthaji (Page xvi):

(i) The *Sūtras* (aphorisms) apply to and cover each and every part of each and every chapter of each and every branch of mathematics (including arithmetic, algebra, geometry - plane and solid, trigonometry - plane and spherical, conics-geometrical and analytical, astronomy, calculus - differential and integral etc., etc. In fact, there is no part of mathematics, pure or applied, which is beyond their jurisdiction;

(ii) The *Sūtras* are easy to understand, easy to apply and easy to remember; and the whole work can be truthfully summarised in one word "mental" !

Shri Bharati Krishna Tirthaji tells us (Reference 1, Page xx) he wrote sixteen volumes expounding the *Sūtras;* but it seems these were lost (see Reference 2).

If the Vedic system is a valid system of mathematics it is imperative to establish the authenticity of the *Sūtras* on which it is based. So the most important question, and one that does not seem to get asked, is: "how do these sixteen *Sūtras* form a basis for mathematics?"

Even if applications of the *Sūtras* were demonstrated in all the main areas of modern mathematics we would still probably not understand why and how the *Sūtras* form a basis for mathematics in general. The only option is to show that the *Sūtras* themselves have some

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sort of universality and can thereby form a set of principles that inevitably cover all of mathematics. In fact we can go further and say that if sixteen *Sūtras* cover all of mathematics they must express universal principles and they must in some way form a complete set. So it could be useful to examine the *Sūtras* from this point of view: as general or universal principles.

And if the *Sūtras* express universal principles these would find manifestation in other areas apart from mathematics. They could for example describe the way the mind works. In fact it might be easier to see the mental expressions of these principles than to see more cosmic expressions of them. And if the *Sūtras* do describe laws of the mind this could be immensely useful in all sorts of ways.

NATURE OF THE *SŪTRAS*

To understand the *Sūtras,* and for them to be useful to us, it is necessary to see them as something we can relate to in a natural way. What follows explores the possibility of the *Sūtras* describing natural functions of mind.

Our mind is extremely subtle and fluid. There seems to be no limit to what we can think and imagine. But if we carefully watch our thoughts we find that we all use certain specific techniques: of reversal, comparison, extension, generalisation for example. And it is interesting that we all seem to develop the same mental techniques, even though we are not specifically taught how to think. It is also perhaps surprising that on examination there do not appear to be very many distinct techniques. The sixteen *Sūtras* can be related to these naturally evolved mental processes. It is our mind that constructs the mathematics and this is done according to the natural functions of mind, which may be expressible by the Vedic *Sūtras.*

We are not normally aware of our thought processes. We have built up layers of mental techniques since we were very young and rely totally on them. We never question them unless we are forced to do so: when for example we are confronted with a contradiction.

To appreciate the types of mental action that follow we need to see them in action in daily life, then we begin to realise just how frequently we use them. In my experience people vary a great deal in their ability to observe their thoughts and thought processes so please have an open mind and be prepared to see things in a different way.

Some of the *Sūtras* seem to fit neatly with a well-known mental function. For example, ***Transpose and Apply*** would describe the reversing that we often use in our thinking. We look at something from the other person's point of view; we feel compassion; we 'change

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our mind' and do the opposite of what we were going to do. It makes sense as a cosmic principle as we see plants grow and then die away, the sun rises and sets. In one of Aesop's fables a bird was trying to drink from a jug but could not reach down to the level of the water. After a while instead of struggling to get his head down far enough the bird went and got some stones which he dropped into the jug until the level had risen enough for him to drink the water.

By One More than the One Before is also easy to see as a principle: everywhere we see things that follow on from, or are created out of, other things, due to the lawful nature of the universe. The *Sūtra* expresses how one idea naturally leads to another: just by resting the mind on an idea another idea arises. This can happen sub-consciously when our mind wanders from one thought to another (sub-*Sūtra*) or it can be a deliberate conscious choice to develop an idea. So, given a square you know that it has four right angles, and seeing someone walking towards you, you expect to pass them shortly.

The *Sūtra* ***By Addition and by Subtraction*** refers to the mental process of comparison. In comparing two things we look for similarities (addition) and differences (subtraction) between them. Addition involves bringing things together into the same group, and observing similarities involves noting those qualities which the two things have in common (i.e. can be grouped together). In subtraction we observe those qualities which differ in the two things. Shown two photographs of the same person taken ten years apart we notice similarities (we recognise common features which we mentally group together) and we notice differences (the person is taller, has different hair colour etc.). This is a very common mental technique. As a natural phenomenon we see the forces of nature continually throwing things together and separating them.

The *Sūtra* ***Vertically and Crosswise*** can be related to decision making and evaluation. In assessing something we weigh up all its aspects, perhaps giving strengths to each of them and then finally coming to a decision by summing all these results. For example, in deciding at what time to leave home for a meeting we may consider traffic, weather, how long it takes to prepare, implications of being late and so on. We assess the importance of each one and sum them, rather like multiplying pairs of numbers and adding the results, as we do in *Vertically and Crosswise* multiplication. This is also a very common mental process. As a principle of nature it seems to describe how everything is interconnected.

All from Nine and the Last from Ten. Here we first need to interpret nine and ten in more general terms in order to understand them as more general entities. In the generation of whole numbers from number one each new digit is one more than the previous one and is more complex than the previous one. In a sense nine is the most complex digit as the next number, ten, is one with zero (i.e. 10). Ten represents a new unity, a new order of unity

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and it contains the previous nine numbers. Nine is the stage just before unity is reached. So the *Sūtra* describes repeated non-unity, followed by unity. In following this sentence, for example, all the parts of it are absorbed before the full comprehension of the meaning of the sentence and we know at each step that we are moving towards a unity. All the parts are like nines, they are all short of the unity sought, but together they lead to a new unity, ten.

In fact if we look we see this principle operating everywhere. A house is built: the foundations are laid, the walls go up, the water pipes are put in etc. and the final result, ten, is the house. A plant grows until it reaches its fulfilment in its flower and its seed. We listen to someone and each point that is made is understood after hearing the words that make up the point being expressed. And each point may itself be leading to a further idea so that the same principle may apply on different levels. Whenever a new unity is realised there were steps that led to it. The same mental activity will be recognised in the way we sometimes continually think about something in order to try to understand it or to come to terms with it.

The *Sūtra* refers to the reaching of a new state. So understanding, comprehension, realisation, enlightenment etc. all express this. A ball rolls along a table top, but when it reaches the edge it goes into a different state. Then it falls until it reaches an obstacle when it again changes its state of motion. We may see parallels in our own life.

If the Samuccaya is the same it is zero. The word '*Samuccaya*' has several meanings we are told, but usually it can be interpreted as 'total' or 'combination'. So we may say '*If the Total is the Same it is Zero*'. Sometimes it is the sameness of something that is significant. We do not realise that the clock was ticking until it stops. A word constantly repeated becomes meaningless. As long as things are as normal (the same) we do not register them (it is zero). In a Sherlock Holmes story Sherlock Holmes points out to Dr. Watson that the fact that the dog **did not** bark is significant (it meant that the dog knew the intruder). If walking to a place by a different route to the normal one has no advantage we are not inclined to take that route. We ignore what is irrelevant or what we prefer not to see. We 'put it out of our mind'.

If One is in Ratio the other One is Zero. We can put our mind onto anything we like. We choose our opinions and beliefs and so ignore contrary views. We choose a meal from a menu, we select certain beliefs that we choose to hold, discarding all others. A country chooses a leader, he speaks and acts for the people (he is in ratio) the others need do nothing. We make an assumption or we take a stand. We frequently decide to take something as true/given (in ratio) and proceed on this assumption, leaving other possibilities aside (equal to zero) for the moment. When looking for a blue sock among a drawer full of

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socks we can mentally tell our mind to see only blue. (The word 'ratio' comes from a Latin word that means 'reason').

By the Completion or Non-Completion. Sometimes we can see a whole even though the whole is not there. Three-quarters of a circle immediately give the impression of a full circle. We see symmetry in the beauty of a flower even though perfect symmetry is not there. When we 'jump to a conclusion' we see, or think we see, some idea. We complete the whole. So, someone is speaking and we know what they are saying before they finish saying it. The detective pieces together what has happened by a series of clues. We say "I get the picture".

Completion implies non-completion, both are there together. We may deliberately leave something incomplete, we may wish to indicate something without actually saying it: it can be implied.

Differential Calculus. Calculus is all about change and motion, which are fundamental to creation. Mentally we may imagine the effect of changing something (while keeping other things constant); we can conduct 'thought experiments'. We may consider the effect if a tree continues to grow, if interest rates continue to rise, if the rain doesn't stop, what it might be like to jump on the moon and so on.

By the Deficiency. We often see how things fall short of an ideal. Differences from the norm stand out. We examine something we have made and see its shortcomings for example. These shortcomings are then the focus of our attention. (Looking for faults may be valuable in a car mechanic but not in a personal relationship).

It is the deficiencies or excesses that stand out and get noticed. We are interested in how much we are driving above or below the speed limit or whether we have thanked someone enough, or overdone it. A wrong note in a piece of music stands out.

Specific and General. This relates to the mental process of generalisation from the specific, which we do all the time. In fact this is just what we have been doing with the Vedic *Sūtras* in this paper: we take the idea of, say, addition and subtraction in the mathematical sense and look for a more abstract meaning of those words. Then we can look for mental processes that use this more abstract meaning: which is going from general to specific. Metaphors use this *Sūtra:* when we say "leave no stone unturned" or "food for thought" it is the general quality that has been described by means of something concrete that has that quality.

We can use this technique for interpreting dreams because a dream may be a specific

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formulation of a general worry or concern: we may examine the essence of the dream and look for examples in the life of the dreamer of how that essential quality may manifest.

The Remainders by the Last Digit. Everything in the world is being continually modified by the things around it. We have ideas and sets of ideas about things and one observation or thought can lead to the whole structure being modified.

We can regard the ideas we have already as the remainders and the latest idea is the last digit that operates on those ideas and modifies them. For example, we learn something about someone and that modifies our opinion of them. Driving a different car to the usual one or treating someone differently because they are in an emotional state, we have to adapt our habits to cope with the change.

We also set up more permanent structures in the mind that apply for a lifetime. As we get older we can get more 'set in our ways', it is more difficult to adapt, to change our way of doing things. We say 'You can't teach an old dog new tricks'.

The Ultimate and Twice the Penultimate. In nature we often see that one thing triggers another: warm, wet weather causes seeds to germinate for example. The mind may act habitually in a certain way in response to a certain stimulus. One idea (the ultimate) may trigger a reaction, a stronger set of ideas already fixed in the mind (the penultimate). I want to say something to a certain person when I see him, the sight of that person triggers the memory. At the time I decided to speak to that person I conditioned my mind to react when that person is sighted. One idea takes over from another. It is because the fixed ideas are stronger and take over that they count twice. We can use this to our advantage by alerting the mind to be selective in some way. Mother hears baby cry in spite of all the other sounds; she has conditioned her mind to be alerted to that sound. When we say 'it rings a bell' an internal idea has been awakened by something outside. The saying 'Once bitten, twice shy' also involves this idea.

By One Less than the One Before. Sometimes we stand back and take an objective look at a situation. We may be struggling with some problem and decide that it is time to look at the bigger picture or perhaps we are feeling the pressure of too many commitments and think it is time to step back, relax and take a fresh look. Here you are in this room, in this country, on this planet etc.

This is the reverse of the *Sūtra By One More than the One Before* (which describes deduction) and it also relates to the mental process of induction where a conclusion is reached based on a number of instances. For example the child sees objects fall to the ground when they are released and so naturally thinks that the next object released will fall. This

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has the same quality of stepping back.

The Product of the Sum. Sometimes we have to assimilate several ideas and draw a result, or product, from them. 'Sum' suggests bringing some ideas together, and 'product' is a result that follows from this - it is the product of the Sum. It is the overall impression. Bring a lot of men together and you have a crowd or an army: the whole is more than the Sum of the parts.

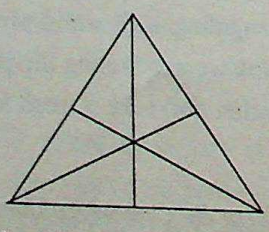
All the Multipliers. Sometimes we need to summarise a number of things. The final speaker at a conference brings together all the ideas that have been aired and discussed. You are saying goodbye to someone after a meeting and bring to your mind the important points from the meeting that are relevant in order to say the appropriate things.

These interpretations of the *Sūtras* may or may not be on the right lines; and even if they are on the right lines considerable revision may be necessary. This is because the mind is very subtle and the *Sūtras* seem to merge together at some points. Hopefully others will be able to extend and modify these ideas.

THE SUB-*SŪTRAS*

Together with the sixteen *Sūtras* Shri Bharati Krishna Tirthaji lists thirteen sub-*Sūtras*. For example, ***Proportionately, By Alternate Elimination and Retention*** and ***By Mere Observation*** are three of them. Two of the sixteen *Sūtras* (*By One More than the One Before and By Addition and By Subtraction*) are indicated to be sub-*Sūtras* also, so the total is fifteen sub-*Sūtras*. However we are given the impression that although there are exactly sixteen *Sūtras*, the sub-*sūtras* are not fixed in number. According to Shri Somanath Mahapatra (mentioned earlier) Shri Bharati Krishna Tirthaji would 'pluck sub-*Sūtras* out of the air'. The sub-*Sūtra* ***Chakravat*** has already been mentioned and is not in the list given in "*Vedic Mathematics*".

Suppose you are asked how many triangles there are in this figure.



There are sixteen of these but did you notice how you could mentally make the various shapes stand out, seeing some lines and ignoring others, and seeing different triangles, at will ? The Vedic sub-*Sūtra By Alternate Elimination and Retention* describes

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this attribute of our mind and has many more obviously mathematical applications (in eliminating first x and then y when solving a pair of simultaneous equations, for example). In fact you may have used *Alternate Elimination and Retention* in another way in the problem above as you may have decided to consider only triangles of a certain type first and then of another type and so on.

It is not clear just how the sub-*Sūtras* relate to the *Sūtras*, but if we think of the physical body we know it has evolved special specific functions (walking, communicating, holding etc.) and also functions which are less obvious (blood circulation, digestion etc.). Similarly the mind also has a more manifest and sophisticated level of operation as well as more subconscious operating levels. Perhaps there are sixteen clear, conscious types of mental activity we can perform, corresponding to the sixteen Vedic *Sūtras* and a number of other more subconscious activities.

Many of the sub-*Sūtras* are clearly related to one of the *Sūtras*. This is what we would expect since the sixteen *Sūtras* are said to cover all of mathematics: each sub-*Sūtra* must relate to at least one of the *Sūtras*. The sub-*Sūtra* described above (*By Alternate Elimination and Retention*) is similar to *If One is in Ratio the Other One is Zero.*

CONCLUDING REMARKS

One argument used against the *Sūtras* is that they don't tell you exactly what to do to solve a problem. But they are general principles and are not meant to do that. The first step we face when confronted with a problem is the crucial one. We know we have a variety of ways of using our mind but we may be unsure which to use: we don't know how to start. The *Sūtras* help to make that initial step: not by trying out each *Sūtra* to see which one works but by being familiar with, and practised in, the *Sūtra*, the mind knows the best way forward. A fuller exposition of the *Sūtras* as functions of mind is under preparation.

Since our mind constructs mathematics it would follow that a mathematical system based on a complete set of natural mental functions would be hugely beneficial personally, and would also be more efficient and seem easier. This explains why students enjoy the Vedic system. Just as you would not get enough physical exercise by twiddling your thumbs, so your mind needs to have all its faculties exercised to fully develop in a mental way, and to enjoy the activity. As things are at present many people do not enjoy mathematics.

In a talk in 1958 at the Institute of Technology, Pasadena, California, USA (see Reference 3, Page 170) Shri Bharati Krishna Tirthaji said: "People who have practical knowledge of the application of the *Sūtras*, need not go in for the theory side of it at all". This fascinating comment makes a clear distinction between those who learn to do

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mathematics by just practising the *Sūtras* and those who can also learn the theory of it as well. The non-mathematician and the applied mathematician just want to use mathematics. There are those of us who just want to get on and do the job and those who want to understand the details.

Anyone familiar with Vedic system will know that it is more integrated, more efficient and more fun than conventional mathematics. It leads to greater flexibility of mind, increased mental agility and stimulates the creative faculty that is in all students. Further research is needed to establish the nature of the *Sūtras* and their full range of application, possibly along the lines described here and for this we would probably need the participation of psychologists and cognitive scientists.

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ESSENTIALS OF SPIRITUAL EDUCATION TODAY & TOMORROW

K.C. MAHALIK*

INTRODUCTORY :

Education makes man self-reliant and provides him right inspiration for work. Education does not mean merely knowing alphabet. What is learnt has to be practised and shown in our daily lives there-by sanctifying our lives and trying to understand the inner purpose of life. Hence, *Bhagavadgītā* rightly says "There is really nothing in this world as sacred as knowledge. He who has mastered the *yogas* will enjoy it within himself in due course.[1]"

An humble attempt is made to discuss the essentials of spiritual teaching and how amply it reflects in traditional system from various standpoints and without it the aim and object of new education policy will be a distant dream.

The ancient system of education developed noble ideals and made valuable contribution to the educational thought and practice. Through constant practice of truth and non-violence in speech, thought and deed, one can realize the real knowledge i.e. supreme power. So, the basic aim of spiritual education is not only to transform the human beings intellectually but also to awaken divine spirit. The history of Indian education is depicted in such a peculiar manner that it can be favourably compared with any other system of education in west, ancient or modern. Our forefathers and seers eagerly emphasized to expand spiritual teaching, which strives to create sacred atmospheres and stimulate students' intellectual, moral and emotional growth. "Practice makes man perfect" — Education without Practice in daily lives is fruitless. It is true and a fact that today whatever is being taught in the educational institutions is not being practised. In this context a Chinese seer rightly remarks "If you give a man fish, he can eat it once, if you teach him to fish, he can eat fish for his life time".

Not only that but also poet Kālidāsa has taken care to impress upon the mind of the

Journal of the Oriental Institute, Vol. 50, Nos. 1-4, Sept.-June 2000-2001 Issue, pp. 157-162.

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1. *na hi jñānena sadṛśam pavitramiha vidyate /*
tat svayam yogasaṁsiddhaḥ, kālenātmani vindati //
Bhagavadgītā 4/38

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students that "*vidyā* is an exacting mistress and can not be pleased without perseverance or practice" The words "*vidyām abhyāsena eva prasādayitum arhasi*" should serve as an eye-opener for students to avoid the improper deed from society.

So, let the Philosophy of spiritual education curriculum be oriented not in despair and disappointment but in hope.

INTEGRITY OF TEACHER-PUPIL RELATIONSHIP THROUGH SPIRITUAL TEACHING:

The history of Indian education is a true symbol of harmonious student-teacher relationship.

The duty of an ideal teacher is to inculcate real knowledge as well as to encourage the students. The teacher has to devote more time and energy to productive and creative activities, motivating and inspiring pupils in various fields. The teacher has to take the role of a friend, philosopher and guide equipped with upto-date knowledge. The teacher should be noble to his profession. He should be a man of strong integrity; only selfless devotion and sincerity of efforts can make him a true teacher. Students should be attracted towards the inner beauty of a teacher which is called personality. The students' mind has to be developed in such a manner as to help them integrate their beliefs and understandings. If you give them mud, they shall produce marbles. That means the responsible citizens are their gifts to the nation as a whole. So, Shri Aurobinda remarks that "We should not teach a child what he ought to be, but to help him discover what he is."

Now let us plunge to the Vedas wherein the teacher-pupil relationship is depicted in such a marvellous manner, which helped in the overall progress of the mental, spiritual and physical faculties of the students. In the light of the above context an Upanishadic prayer exemplifies that, education is a joint effort; where the *guru* and the disciple are interwined into a thread of oneness. Their emotional attachment is so deep and multicoloured that they never keep themselves apart.[2]

The *Maṇḍūka Sūkta* of *Ṛgveda* also explains about the teacher-pupil relationship in saying that the crackling sound of a frog at the advent of rainy season which is followed by million others, becomes so enchanting to hear that can be well compared to that of a single

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2. *Saha nāvavatu, sahanau bhunaktu*
Sahavīryaṁ karava vahai
Tejasvināvadhītamastu mā vidviṣā vahai

(an Upanishadic prayer)

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guru teaching his innumerable disciples.[3]

Further *Yajurveda* says about the rights of a disciple for learning of real knowledge by approaching the teacher to learn *vidyā* through devotion but not by force.[4]

The same idea is also being approved in the *Bhagavadgītā.*[5] The Upanishadic *mahāvākya-tat tvam asi*[6] "That thou art" is a very splendid maxim to understanding India's composite culture and educational system more scientifically and reasonably.

The formula of above *mahāvākya* encouraged the students to have the strong aspiration to know pure consciousness of *Sat-Cit-Ānanda.* So, we should not only induce the students for *svādhyāya* but encourage them for *tapasyā* - spiritual import that whatever they discover in their pursuit of the truth will be manifested in all walks of life.

Spiritual knowledge becomes meaningful when it is identical with *Sat* and *Cit.* Academic knowledge is also knowledge, but it cannot carry conviction and cannot transform the heart of a student. Knowledge acquired through a *guru* is full of living force and energy and vitality which the *guru* conveys to the disciples through initiation, which is called *satpatha.*

In the past the teaching of spiritual system has been brightly depicted that learning is a process which should come of its own accord; compulsion on the part of disciples will initially defeat the purpose of learning. *Upaniṣad,* the secret knowledge of the Vedas gave a description of the imparting of spiritual knowledge which has always been done through a *guru* to a disciple. Indra went to Prajāpati for reality of knowledge, Nārada went to Sanatkumara etc. for the same.[7] In the olden days, a man from the highest caste and a man from the lowest who went for learning, were simply coming as humble students for seeking of knowledge, where the reality of knowledge and aspiration for God were concerned. Vital class and social distinction did not count there. So, Svami Vivekananda says "Any one can be a disciple of any irrespective of caste and colour and it is only knowledge that is expected

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3. *Yadeṣāmanyo anyasya vācam śāktasyeva vadati śikṣamāṇaḥ* |
   Sarvam tadeṣām samṛdheva parva yatsuvāco vadathanādhyapsu ||
   (Rg. 7.103.5)

4. *Yajurveda* 26.2

5. *Tadviddhi praṇipātena paripraśnena sevayā,*
   Upadekṣyanti te jñānam Jñāninaḥ tattvadarśinaḥ .
   (*Bhagavadgītā* 4/35)

6. *Chāndogya Upaniṣad* VI.VII.7

7. *Ṛgveda-bhāṣya-bhūmikā,* Chaukhamba Prakasan, Varanasi, 1982, p-4

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and not social category. Merit and not birth should be criteria for eligibility in any field."[8]

Gradually the store house of knowledge is handed down from the teacher to the pupil. But the present state of affairs lacks the communication between the teacher and the taught. This is one of the primary causes of students' unrest in the modern times. Nasty politics is not only responsible to spoil the tender heart of the students but it also creates such polluting atmosphere - here by keeping student and teacher apart.

Therefore the teachers and educational administrators from primary right upto higher level must be cautious to inculcate the spiritual values in the minds of the pupils. But it is a sorry state of affairs that new education policy is devoid of these basic requirements.

THE ROLE OF TEACHER AND METHOD OF TEACHING IN THE PAST :

The *guru* should have a double qualification. He/she must be learning what he teaches and also he should have the power to express what he knows. The *guru* has to light the fire that is burning within the students. A *guru* should both be a *śrotriya* and *brahmaniṣṭha*. Upaniṣads have also given another qualification of the student i.e. *brahmacarya*. *caryā* means conduct, behaviour attitude and truth. The conduct of reality or a spiritual attitude is called *brahmacarya*. The place of spiritual knowledge is highly applauded in Indian philosophy. It rightly says "*sā vidyā yā vimuktaye*". It is the real knowledge that saves one from insanity and inadequacies and guides him towards perfection.

The method of teaching in the past was so dynamic that it worked to invent the inner potentialities of a student best suited for a particular branch of learning. When a teacher teaches a particular discipline, he should not go forthwith the subject at the very beginning itself. That kind of method would be difficult for the student to comprehend. The language of the teacher should always be at the level of the student and assume a form of humanity which immediately attracts the attention of the student. A successful teacher is one who understands his disciple. Lord Yama, the great teacher of *Kaṭha Upaniṣad* follows this wonderful educational psychology of gradually moving towards the ultimate meaning of things taking the mind of Naciketā systematically from the lower to the higher, a progress which is expressed in a few verses of *Kaṭha Upaniṣad*.[9]

Besides, Patañjali, the teacher of *Yogasūtra* has also gone to the extent of saying that the teacher should play the role of a discoverer to explore the inner vitality of a student so

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8. Svami Vivekananda, *Complete Works*, Vol.1, Almora, 1962, p.22
9. *The Secret of Kaṭha Upaniṣad*, published by Divine Life Society, U.P. India, 1977, Discourse No.2,3 and 4

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as to guide him towards perfection.[10]

Further in *Jñānayoga* of *Bhagavadgītā* Lord Kṛṣṇa says to Arjuna about real knowledge, which is a golden contribution of intellectuality and humbleness.

Over and above all this, Kālidāsa the prince of poets throws sufficient light in his dramas upon the system of education that prevailed in the past. On one occasion in *Raghuvaṁśaṃ*, Kālidāsa compares the teacher with the sun, who destroys the darkness and leads the human beings to light.[11]

To compare ancient and modern education policy the Secondary Education Commission 1952, has given emphasis on spiritual education with a saying "no education is worth the name which does not inculcate the qualities necessary for living graciously, harmonious and efficiently with one's fellowmen.[12]

But in sharp contrast to the above the modern system of education has no machinery, through which it will impart teaching to perfection.

The spiritual teaching, though, would not create million scholars but would create a single one, who would spread his rays of knowledge for the masses like the moon reflecting its light in the fullmoon night. It is, therefore, that the most urgent and significant reform needed is to transform the basic structure and processes of teaching method of educational system into flexible and dynamic for all ages to come.

SPIRITUAL EDUCATION AND NATION BUILDING:

Education must be for world citizenship. Education for self aggrandizement is no education. Mahatma Gandhi is of the opinion that education must end with the building up of character, because, "character is the hall mark of human beings." A student, how much he be qualified, with so many degrees, is not to be considered to be educated unless he has built up his character. Gandhiji has indirectly stressed on spiritual education. So, by and large the spiritual education of which we have described so much should be the basic of any ideal education structure.

Gandhiji had made a unique impact to develop spiritual education in his life time and

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10. *Śaucasantoṣatapaḥ svādhyāya*
Īśvara praṇidhānāni niyamāḥ, (*Patañjali Yoga Sūtra,* II.32)

11. *Yataḥ tvayā jñānamaśesamāptam lokena caitanyam*
Iva uṣnarasmeḥ
(*Raghuvaṁśam,* V.4)

12. *Secondary Education Commission,* Government of India, Ministry of Education, 1952, p.12

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the glorious example of his own life and his teachings continue to inspire and influence millions in his own country and abroad. He believed that blind beliefs and prejudice can be cured through proper education by one's own effort. By his spiritual and moral dialectics he synthesized the idea of nationalism with that of universalism.

CONCLUDING REMARKS :

Spiritual education is so vital in view of a perfect social order that it can never be overemphasized. But in modern age of money and matter, spiritual education has little significance. Utmost emphasis must be given to one which is now in operation rather than the one which is not practicable for the time. Ours is a democratic form of Government with universalisation of education and hence to compartmentalise our education system into a spiritual line will ultimately lead to destroy our education. It is therefore judicious to implement spiritual education without destroying the existing setup.

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CONTRIBUTION OF *KṢATRIYAS* TO INDIAN PHILOSOPHY

S. JENA*

Of the four *Varṇas,* particularly the Brahmins and the *Kṣatriyas* have played vital role in the spiritual upliftment of Indian society. In the days of yore, when the *Kṣatriyas* were busy in protecting the kingdom by the strength of their arms, the Brahmins engaged themselves in the advancement of learning in the kingdom. The *Kṣatriyas* defended the motherland against external agression and were held responsible for the maintenance of internal security especially the freedom and sovereignty of the land. On the other hand, the Brahmins, with country's freedom and sovereignty defended, proceeded in the path of learning and literary activity. In those days the Brahmins deeply cogitated over the mystery of Nature, heaven, stars, planets, constellations and above all the cosmos and their cogitation and concentration resulted in the production of enormous poetry, literature, grammar, philosophy and astronomy which abundantly contributed to the growth and advancement of learning in the then Indian society. The *Kṣatriyas* were providing an undisturbed peaceful time to the Brahmins by protecting their land and life. And the latter, by producing vast masses of literature, philosophy etc, in return, were keen enough in spreading education to the far off regions of the country. Bhaṭṭi, a noted grammarian poet of 650 A.D. nicely depicts this mutual collaboration and interdependence of the *Kṣatriyas* and Brahmins in his *Rāvaṇavadha* popularly known as *Bhaṭṭikāvya.* In the *Bhaṭṭikāvya,* I.20 when Viśvāmitra requests Daśaratha to send his son Rāma with him for protecting the sacrifices from the attack of ogres, he refers to this particular point as to how the sages and Brahmins resort to the Kṣatriyas at the time of fear and the latter resort to the former for enhancing righteousness (*dharma*) in their kingdoms.[1]

The word 'philosophy' is constituted of two terms - 'philos' and 'sophia'. In the Greek language, 'philos' means 'love' and 'sophia' means 'knowledge' or 'wisdom'. So the

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Journal of the Oriental Institute, Vol. 50, Nos. 1-4, Sept.-June 2000-2001 Issue, pp. 163-171.

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1. *mayā tvam āpthāḥ śaraṇam bhayeṣu*
vayaṁ tvay āpyāsmahi dharmavṛddhyai //
kṣātraṁ dvijatvaṁ ca parasparārthaṁ
śaṅkāṁ kṛthā mā prahiṇu sva-sūnum //
Bhaṭṭikāvya, Canto I.21

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etymological meaning of the word 'philosophy' is 'love of wisdom'. "It signifies, says Professor Chandradhar Sharma, a natural and necessary urge in human beings to know themselves and the world in which they live, move and have their being".[2] In contrast to the western philosophy which is essentially an intellectual quest for truth, Indian philosophy is intensely spiritual and practical and it lays great stress on practical realization of truth. The word *darśana* means 'vision' and it stands for the direct, immediate and intuitive vision of Reality, the practical perception of Truth. *Atmā vai draṣṭavyaḥ* (one should see the self) - is the motto of all the schools of Indian philosophy. An annihilation of three kinds of suffering - *ādhyātmika, ādhibhautika* and *ādhidaivika* and the realization of supreme bliss and happiness are the ultimate goal which Indian philosophy aims at and which it generally teaches to the mankind.

From early times the contribution of sages and Brahmins to the domain of philosophy has been immense. After the *Saṁhitās* and *Brāhmaṇas*, the philosophical thought as available in the Upanisadic texts is mostly the contribution of sages and seers of the hoary past. It is the result of their deeper meditation and introspection which they carried on in seclusion, in the lone atmosphere of the forests isolated from human habitation. The Āraṇyakas mark the beginning of philosophical reflection of the Aryan mind and they represent a transition from the ritualistic Brāhmaṇa-texts to the philosophical thought and speculation. The Upaniṣads are the essence, cream and the apex of Vedic philosophy that the Aryans have finally achieved.

After the Vedic period, in the early Christian era we meet with *Sāṅkhya* philosophy. Tradition regards the sage Kapila to be the founder of this philosophy. Yoga philosophy owes its origin to the sage Patañjali. The sage Gotama establishes the philosophy of *Nyāya* whereas the sage Kaṇāda propounds the *Vaiśeṣika* philosophy. Gotama is otherwise known as Gautama and Akṣapāda whereas Kaṇāda is known as Kaṇabhuk, Uluka and also Kāśyapa. The origin of *Mīmāṁsā* school is traced back to Jaimini's *Mīmāṁsāsūtra,* the earliest work of this school. Gauḍapāda is taken to be the first systematic expounder of *Advaita-Vedānta.* And *Advaita-Vedānta* finds its culmination with *Ācārya* Śaṅkara who was born in a Namudripada Brahmin family of Kerala in ninth century A.D. After Śaṅkara, Rāmānuja (1017-1137 A.D.) is the founder of *Viśiṣṭādvaita* or the philosophy of qualified monism. Regarded as a born foe of Śaṅkara, *Ācārya* Madhva (1197-1276 A.D.) is an advocate of '*Dvaitavāda*' or dualistic school. Indebted to the doctrine of Rāmānuja the philosophy of Nimbārka, a Telugu Brahmin of latter half of 14th century A.D. is called '*Dvaitādvaitavāda*' or the philosophy of both dualism and non-dualism. *Ācārya* Vallabha, another Telugu Brahmin born in 1479 A.D. propagates *Śuddhādvaitavāda'* or the doctrine of pure non-

2. Sharma, C. - *Indian Philosophy,* Ch.I, p.1.

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dualism. Śrī Caitanya who was born in a learned Brahmin family of Bengal as the son of Jagannātha Miśra and Śaci Devī in 1485 A.D. and whose early names were Viśvambhara, Gaurāṅga and Nimāi etc., preaches '*Acintyabhedābheda*' or the philosophy of identity-in-difference. And this philosophy is historically associated with and treated as a branch of Madhvaism.

Thus, as far as Indian philosophy is concerned, all the above-mentioned sages, *Ācāryas* and the Brahmins have started different schools of thought in Indian philosophy and the latter in general has been expanded and enriched by them. Compared to these Brahmins who represent the first category of ancient Indian social hierarchy, the contribution of the *Kṣatriyas,* the second in the social ladder to the growth and development of Indian philosophical thought is no less meagre and unimportant. Though defence of the land, protection of the weak and oppressed was the primary job of this class, still they have greatly assisted and associated themselves in the eternal quest for truth and have brought out significant doctrines to enhance and embellish the Indian philosophical horizon. The present paper aims at giving an account of their contribution to the field of Indian philosophy.

From the Upaniṣads, first of all, it is known that the *Kṣatriyas* or the people of the warrior-caste are not dissociated from the intellectual life and the literary activity of the ancient times. It is held that some kings and Monarchs of the past, by virtue of their knowledge have put to shame the learned priests like Śvetaketu, Somaśuṣma and Yājñavalkya etc. Even some great warriors taking part in the theological debate with the Brahmins have dared to challenge their knowledge and wisdom. One should not get astonished that the doctrine of *Ātman,* as well as the doctrine of the transmigration of the soul, the two principal doctrines of the Upaniṣads owe their origin to the *Kṣatriyas* or say the warrior-caste. The Upaniṣads repeatedly narrate that the kings and warriors do possess the highest knowledge and the priests or Brahmins approach to take lessons from them. Thus in the *Kauṣītaki Upaniṣad* (also called the *Kauṣītaki-Brāhmaṇa-Upaniṣad*) I.1 we are told that when Śvetaketu or his father Āruṇi, the leader of the priests fail to answer about the transmigration of the soul, the *Kṣatriya* king Citra teaches them about the other world. The *Chāndogya Upaniṣad* (V.3-10) and the *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad* (VI.2) refer to the fact that Gautama, the father of Śvetaketu approaches king Pravahaṇa in order to learn from him about the other world, but the king at first feels perturbed, for this science of the other world is not formerly known to the priests and Brahmins. Lastly Pravahaṇa teaches him the doctrine of the transmigration of the soul, the origin of which goes back to the warrior-class. And it leads Winternitz to *aptly* remark that "this is the doctrine of the transmigration of the soul, which, appearing for the first time, clearly proves to be a doctrine initially foreign

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to the Brāhmanic theology, born out of the warrior-caste."[3]

As regards the doctrine of Ātman in the *Chāndogya Upaniṣad* (V.11ff), it is said that when Prācīnaśāla, Satyayajña, Indradyumna, Jana and Buḍila - the five great Vedic scholars approach the wise Uddālaka Āruṇi to know about the Ātman, the latter, conscious of his inability, directs them to go to Aśvapati Kaikeya, a *Kṣatriya* king from whom they learn the science of the Ātman. Hence Winternitz again emphatically asserts that "the chief doctrine of the Upaniṣads-the doctrine of the Ātman, the only one is born of non-Brahminical castes."[4] Thus it can be undisputedly claimed that both the theory of Ātman and the theory of the transmigration of the soul are of *Kṣatriya* origin.

Next among the *Kṣatriyas,* it is the Janakas[5] who invite our attention. Mithi Janaka is said to be the founder of the Janaka dynasty; and it is after his name that Mithilā or Mithilāpurī became so famous. Thereafter all other kings born in Mithi's dynasty have used the common name Janaka. Though Sītā's father Janaka is very popular in the *Rāmāyaṇa,* his actual name was Sīradhvaja Janaka. In this Janaka dynasty many such Janakas have come and ruled over Mithilā in the past. The *Mahābhārata* in its *Śāntiparvan* mentions the name of some Janakas such as Janadeva Janaka (Ch.211.3), Vasumāna Janaka (Ch.297.2), Karāla Janaka (Ch.291.7.10), Daivarāti Janaka (Ch.298.4) and Dharmadhvaja Janaka (Ch.308.4). Moreover, in this twelfth *parvan* there are still some chapters (Chs. 279-287, Ch.307) which give an account of philosophical discussions held between king Janaka and sages of eminence like Parāśara, Pañcaśikha etc. In these narrations the actual name does not appear and the stories are narrated in the common name of king Janaka. These facts show that Janakas were many and they were great scholars and philosophers.

Though kings, the Janakas are renowned for their ascetic habits and practices. Descendants of Videha[6] Mithi Janaka, they all seem to attach no importance to bodily pleasure and enjoyment. Side by side with house-holder's duties they all have embraced

3. Wintermitz, M.- *A History of Indian Literature,* Vol.I, p.213
4. *Ibid.*
5. In the *Bṛhadāraṇyaka-Upaniṣad* Chs. III and IV.1-4 though we, first of all, notice that king Janaka of Videha is engaged in philosophical debate with Yājñavalkya and he repeatedly requests the sage to instruct him about liberation (*Ata ūrdhvaṁ vimokṣāya brūhi* - IV.3.14-16, and 33), this Upaniṣad forming the last six chapters of the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* (600 B.C.) is of later origin and it lacks in the proper name of the king of Videha.
6. Nimi was cursed by the sage Vaśiṣṭha to be bodiless (*vi-deha*). Mithi Janaka was churned (*mathana*) out of the bodiless Nimi and was called a Videha.

Śrimad Devī-Bhāgavata,
VI.Ch.14.42; Ch.15.23-27

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asceticism in their life. In fact they have proved to be ideal rulers.[7] Therefore they were rightly designated as *rājarṣis*. Deeply engrossed in the affairs of their kingdom, they were yet detached from worldly passion and inclination. Indeed they combined in themselves both enjoyment and restraint, *gārhasthya* and *sannyāsa* simultaneously.

The *Mahābhārata, Śānti-parvan* Ch.268.4 beautifully hints at the detached and dispassionate outlook of a certain Janaka king when he articulates the following verse in course of advising the sage Māṇḍavya.

susukhaṁ bata jīvāmi yasya me nāsti kiñcana /
mithilāyāṁ pradīptāyāṁ na me dahyati kiñcana //

"I live with all happiness; neither do I possess anything nor am I attached to anything. In case the entire Mithilā is in fire, nothing is lost for me".

Despite the deeper involvement of Janakas in their state affairs, just see the detached and dispassionate proclaimation of a Janaka. Though unnamed, what a *karmayogin* this Janaka really was !

Then to draw our attention is Śrī Kṛṣṇa belonging to the age of the *Mahābhārata* (800-700 B.C.). Born as the son of Vasudeva and Devakī, he has been forced to play a role in the great Bhārata war. And the *Bhagavad-Gītā*[8] is the outcome of his philosophical discourse to persuade reluctant Arjuna to take part in the war. The *Gītā* deals with the metaphysics, religion and ethics and is rightly called the "Gospel of Humanity". It represents a unique synthesis of Action, Devotion and Knowledge. In the words of Professor Sharma- "the *Gītā* tries to build up a philosophy of *karma* based on *jñāna* and supported by *bhakti* in a beautiful manner".[9]

Next come Pārśvanātha, the 23rd Tīrthaṅkara and Mahāvīra Jina. Born in a *Kṣatriya*

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7. *sa eṣa janako rājā durvṛttam api cet sutam /*
daṇḍyaṁ daṇḍe nikṣipati tathā na glāti dhārmikam //
suyuktacāro nṛpatiḥ sarvaṁ dharmeṇa paśyati /
Mahābhārata 3. Āraṇyaka-parvan, Ch.198.28-29a

And also
sa eṣa rājā janakaḥ sarvaṁ dharmeṇa paśyati /
anugṛhṇan prajāḥ sarvāḥ svadharmaniratāḥ sadā //
Mahābhārata 3. Āraṇyaka-parvan, Ch.198.36

8. Chapters 23-40 of the *Bhīṣma-Parvan* of the *Mahābhārata* (Critical Edition) constitute the *Bhagavad-Gītā*

9. Sharma A.C., *Op.cit.,* Ch.II, p.29

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princely family of Kāśī 250 years before Mahāvīra, Pārśvanātha attains supreme wisdom and gives emphasis on four principles such as non-violence, truth, non-stealing and non-possession of property essential for a pure life. Mahāvīra Jina whose early name was Vardhamāna and who was born in *Jñāntrika Kṣatriya* clan in 540 B.C. as the son of king Siddhārtha and queen Triśalā, attains *kevalajñāna* and is finally known as Jina or the conqueror. He adds fifth principle *brahmacarya* or celibacy to the four principles already emphasized by Pārśvanātha. Besides, he advises to adhere to Right Faith, Right Knowledge and Right Action which are known as three-jewels (*tri-ratna*) in the Jain Faith.

Though Mahāvīra Jina cannot be regarded as the sole founder of Jainism because there were 23 *Tīrthaṅkaras* before him and the faith has come down through them since remote antiquity, still it is Mahāvīra who gives a new orientation to the faith and the modern Jainism or the historical Jainism, for all practical purposes, may rightly be regarded as an outcome of his teachings. *Anekāntavāda*[10] (the doctrine of manyness of reality) and *Syādvāda*[11] (the doctrine of relativity of knowledge) are the two distinct contributions of Mahāvīra to the world of metaphysics and epistemology respectively.

With Gautama Buddha (566 B.C.) we notice how a person of warrior class immensely contributes to the domain of philosophical thought. With perfect embodiment of knowledge, courage, love and sacrifice, he is one of the greatest men of all times and is truly the "Light of Asia". Born in the famous *Kṣatriya* race of Śākyas, as the son of king Śuddhodana and queen Māyā Devī, prince Gautama spends his early childhood in the royal palace of Kapilavastu amid pleasure and prosperity. He gets married to Yaśodhārā, a princess of exquisite beauty and is blessed with a son, but nothing affords him permanent peace and happiness. He kicks away the pleasures of the royal palace, his beloved wife and the lovely new-born, the fetters for man and goes out in the quest of eternal truth and happiness. After years of rigorous penance and austerities, he finds solutions to the problems of life, gets enlightenment and becomes Buddha, the enlightened one.

Buddha's Four Noble Truths and the Noble Eight-fold Path bear importance even to this day. His four Noble Truths are - (i) *duḥkha* - Life is full of suffering, (ii) *duḥkha-samudaya* - there is a cause of suffering, (iii) *duḥkha-nirodha* - there is a cessation of suffering and (iv) *duḥkha-nirodha-gāminī pratipat* - there is a path leading to the cessation of suffering.

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10. That the reality has innumerable characters is called *anekāntavāda* (*anantadharmakaṁ vastu*) It relates to metaphysics, *Ibid.*, Ch.IV, pp.54ff
11. That we can know only some aspects of reality and hence all our judgements are necessarily relative, is called *Syādvāda*. It relates to the epistemology and logic. *Ibid,* Ch.IV, pp.56-60

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And this path is the Noble Eight-fold Path, the most practical and ethical path discovered by Buddha, by following which man can put an end to his worldly sufferings and attain liberation. This Eight-fold Path consists of eight steps e.g., *samyag dṛṣṭi* (right view), *samyag saṅkalpa* (right resolve), *samyag vāk* (right speech), *samyak karmānta* (right action), *samyag ājīva* (right living), *samyag vyāyāma* (right effort), *samyak smṛti* (right thought) and *samyak samādhi* (right concentration).

Buddha's middle path is another discovery made by Buddha. Professor Sharma compares it with "the golden means of Aristotle"[12] This middle path is a way out between the two extremes - self-indulgence and self-mortification. Too much of worldly enjoyment and too much of self-torture are undesirable; and hence both are equally ruled out. The way lying between these two extremes is the middle path which leads man to knowledge, enlightenment and emacipation.

Buddha's greatest contribution to the world philosophy is - *Pratityasamutpāda* or the doctrine of Dependant Origination. It is the central theme of all his teachings. Other teachings of Buddha like the theory of *karman, kṣaṇabhaṅgavāda* (the theory of momentariness) etc., are deduced from it. The seed of *Pratityasamutpāda* is contained in the second Noble Truth and the third Noble Truth.[13]

It has been pointed out above that Śrī Caitanya is the exponent of *Acintyabhedābheda* doctrine, but truly speaking, the entire philosophy has been moulded by Rāya Rāmānanda Paṭṭanāyaka hailing from the village Beṇṭapura of Puri district in Orissa. Born in a *Kāyastha* family as the eldest son of Bhavānanda Paṭṭanāyaka he was the Governor of Rajamahendri during the reign of king Pratāparudradeva (1497-1540 A.D.) before Caitanya's advent to Puri (1510 A.D.). A devout follower of Vaiṣṇavism, Rāmānanda had written before that time an excellent drama - the *Jagannātha-vallabha-nāṭaka* based on love-sports of Rādhā-kṛṣṇa which was staged at Puri and was highly admired by the king. After holding the reins of power at Rajamahendri for years, he was popularly known as Rāya Rāmānanda in his later life.

From Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja's *Caitanya-Caritāmṛta,* the most authoritative text on Bengal Vaiṣṇavism, we clearly know that it is Rāmānanda from whom Caitanya learns everything about this philosophy. Rāmānanda explains every aspect of this doctrine to the full satisfaction of the Master.[14] At the advice of the great logician Sārvabhauma Bhaṭṭācārya[15]

12. Sharma, C., *Ibid.,* Ch.V., p.88
13. *Ibid,* Ch.V, p.89ff
14. *Caitanya-Caritāmṛta* of Kṛṣṇadāsa Kavirāja - II *Madhyalīlā,* Ch.8.50-277
15. *Ibid.,* II *Madhyalīlā,* Ch.7.61-65

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Caitanya meets Rāya Rāmānanda at Rajamahendri in course of his South Indian pilgrimage and holds a long philosophical discussion with him on the bank of the river Godavari. And his profound philosophical discussion is the foundation stone of *Acintyabhedābheda* doctrine and later Gauḍīya Vaiṣṇavism.[16] In support of this view Prof. S.K. De remarks that "in spite of the fact that some of his scholastic biographers delight in depicting Caitanya as a trained theorist expounding with precison a whole theological system, we are not sure that he had any settled system in his mind or ever relished mere theological discourses".[17]

In an emotional practice of *rāgānugā bhakti,* Caitanya is often said to be imagining himself as Rādhā longing for her dear beloved Kṛṣṇa and trying to realise the same intense yearnings. "In this emotional practice of *Rādhā bhāva,* again holds De, he received support from Rāmānanda Rāya".[18] Further an eminent historian like Prabhat Mukherjee in his work *The History of the Gajapati Kings of Orissa* (p.104) strongly asserts that "Rāmānanda moulded the idea of service as a *Gopī* into a doctrine".

Now, as far as the contribution of all the aforesaid *Kṣatriyas* to Indian philosophy is concerned, we notice that from Citra, Pravahaṇa to Rāya Rāmānanda[19] - all of them are connected with royalty; each one has tasted regal status and pleasure; each one has experienced the plethora and plenitude of royal privileges and enjoyments; except Rāmānanda everyone was perhaps married; but on the other hand their counterpart - the sages, Ācāryas and Brahmins are probably celibates all their life; they strictly adhere to *brahmacarya.* Among them none is known to have resorted to domestic life except Caitanya. Besides, the difference in the philosophy of these two classes is that when the sages and Brahmins have developed philosophy as a kind of their natural urge, the philosophy formulated by the *Kṣatriyas* is an outcome of their dissatisfaction and discontentment with the world; it is the result of realisation of the transitoriness of the worldly objects and pleasures. Particularly it has been so in case of Mahāvīra Jina and Gautama Buddha to a large extent.

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16. Sastri, Asoke Chatterjee - *Caitanya,* p.46
17. De, S.K. - *Early History of the Vaiṣṇava Faith and Movement in Bengal,* Ch.III, p.111
18. *Ibid.* Ch.V., p.427
19. Though born in a *Kāyastha* class, Rāmānanda may be regarded as belonging to the warrior class since during the regime of Pratāparudradeva he showed martial spirit and his military capability in defending the territories of the country. This speaks of his valour and prowess. By holding the reins of administration as the ruler of Rajamahendri in the early era of 16th century he was also as good as a king.

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SCULPTURES OF PABBAR VALLEY

HARI CHAUHAN*

Pabbar valley in the upper Shimla hill of Himachal Pradesh extends from the South of Kinnour in Himachal to Yamuna valley in Uttaranchal. The valley is archaeologically rich, its remains are scattered all over and speak the glory of art and culture, which existed once in this remote area. The sculpture may truly be regarded as the characteristic art of the area in which the genius of the people found its concrete, lasting and full expression. These sculptures are carved out either in stone slab, wooden panel or cast in metal. The temples built in the area possess abundant sculptures of great variety and beauty, often marked by monumental quality. The contents of these sculptures, although most varied revolve mainly around two things: (a) Brahmanical pantheon with images and legendary scenes of gods and goddesses (b) decorative figures, motifs and designs. The family of Brahmanical gods and goddesses, although formidable in size, can be conventionally grouped around the personality of the five principal deities, namely Śiva, Viṣṇu, Sūrya, Gaṇeśa and Durgā. They are represented either singly or attended by their consorts and attendants. Deities are also shown attended by a number of celestial beings. In sculpture, much attention has been paid to the life-exploits of each deity in various incarnations showing his victory over a number of demons. Sculptures reveal that they possess the stylistic sophistication of post- Gupta period. The figures of god and goddess have hypnotic expression in their eyes with gently arched eyebrows, soft smile, and dignified expression by the marvelously rounded face. The sculptures show their close resemblance with the sculptures of Gangetic plains. A trade route leading from plains of Uttar Pradesh to Central Asia passing through this valley is the main factor for spreading this art-style in the region. The sculptures scattered in this valley stand as eloquent testimony of art and culture that flourished in the area. Hatkoti, Bachoonch, Masli, Parhat, Giri Gaṅgā, etc. are the famous cultural centres of the valley.

Durgā

Durgā is the most popular goddess of the valley. Its sculptures are found frequently all over the valley showing different incarnations. The image of the principal deity in Durgā temple at Hatkoti is of *aṣṭadhātu.* It depicts the goddess *Mahiṣāsuramardinī.* Her one-foot rests on her vehicle- the lion and, the other is placed on the ground. She is shown in the

Journal of the Oriental Institute, Vol. 50, Nos. 1-4, Sept.-June 2000-2001 Issue, pp. 173-180.

* Himachal State Museum, Shimla-171 004 (HP).

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act of killing the demon *Mahiṣāsura* with trident. The goddess has eight arms holding various attributes. She holds *kheṭaka,* bell, bow, and *caṣakapātra* in her right hands and *khaḍga, cakra, śakti* and trident in the left hands. This is one of the rare images where *cakra* is held in *Prayogamudrā* (ready to dispatch). The bronze is almost of life size and only a few such large images have survived in this region. The two-meter high, ornamented torna following *Śikra* form is of extra-ordinary iconographical interest. Goddesses Gaṅgā and Yamunā are engraved on either side. Several geometrical and animal figures also appear on both the sides of torna. Among the animal figures, an imaginary animal '*Śārdūla*' is engraved on both the sides. It has long legs like elephant, the middle portion is of lion and head of the dragon. On the top of the torna *sapta-mātṛkās* are seen with Gaṇeśa and Śiva on either sides in a panel. An inscription in the *siddha-mātṛkā* script is engraved on both the sides of the torna.

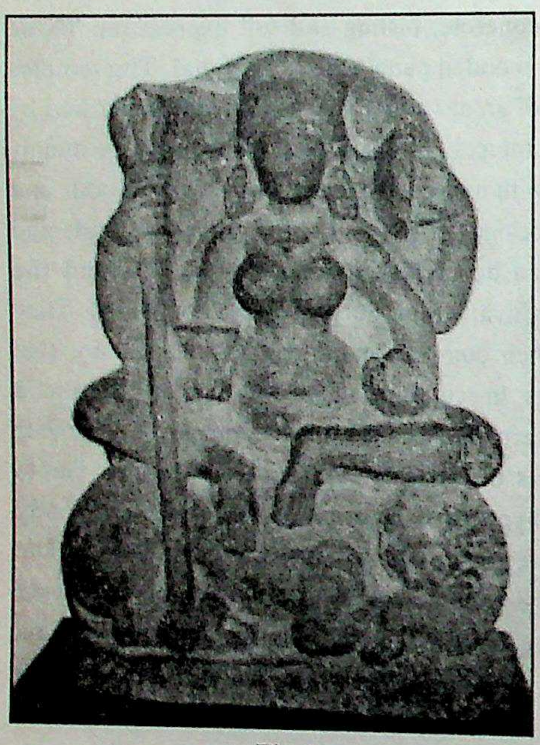

Fig.1

The other interesting and beautiful stone sculpture of *Siṁhavāhinī Dūrgā* (fig.1) from Hatkoti is now in the collection of State Museum Shimla and is displayed in Himachal Archaeological gallery of the Museum. The fourhanded Goddess is seated enface in *lalitāsana* on lion resting on its paws. The lion is shown in a state of relaxation indicating that the ferocious energy of the Goddess is not dormant. The Goddess has *kumbanda* and *blenducur* on her head. The ancient text says that the face should not be round but broad like full moon as one finds in this image. The eyebrow is taut and arched like a full drawn bow. The neck has a beautiful trivet mark. The smooth plasticity of the figure appears in contrast to the sharply edged straight trident. The deity holds a *caṣakapātra* in her lower right hand and trident in upper right hand while she holds a shield in the upper left hand and *Bījapūraka* i.e. the seed of entire cosmos in lower left hand. A very thin skirt held by a girdle similar to that of the Gupta period is worn at the base. The plasticity of the image is smooth and buxom. The sculpture can be assigned to circa 8th century A.D.

A stone sculpture of Goddess Pārvatī at Bachoonch is shown standing on a lotus pedestal in *sambhaṅga* posture. She is wearing *jaṭāmukuṭa,* earrings, *hāra, kaṅkaṇa, keyūra,*

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aṅgada, kaṭisūtra and a fine sari. She is holding a *kamaṇḍalu* in the front left and a bow in the back left hands. Besides, she holds a *sruk* in the back right and the front right hand is held in *varadamudrā*. On the lower right side a deer and on the left side a couching lion is shown. On her upper left side seated Gaṇeśa and on her right side, Śiva-liṅga is shown in relief.

Another image of the goddess is very interesting, as it shows a further development in the iconographic form of deity by showing the personification of demon in human form (fig.2). The dynamic approach to the plastic conception of the deity is clearly visible in this sculpture. She has four arms, possessing a sword in the back right hand, thrusting the trident at the back of the demon with front right hand, dragging the tail of demon with front left hand and back left hand carries a *pāśa*. She plants her right leg on the foot of the demon. The goodess is shown as carrying out the job mechanically and lacks the vitality and force. Another stone sculpture of goodess wearing a traditional dress of the area is carved in folk style. She is wearing upper garments known as *chapkan* in the local dialect and held by a girdle known as *gachhi* (girdle) at the waist. The demon is shown in human form rushing out of the severed head of the buffalo. The two armed goddess is piercing the trident with her right hand and dragging the hair of demon with left hand. The demon holds his hand in clasp form instead of fighting as commonly noticed in such type of sculptures in the area. In addition to these large number of sculptures are noticed in the part of the valley.

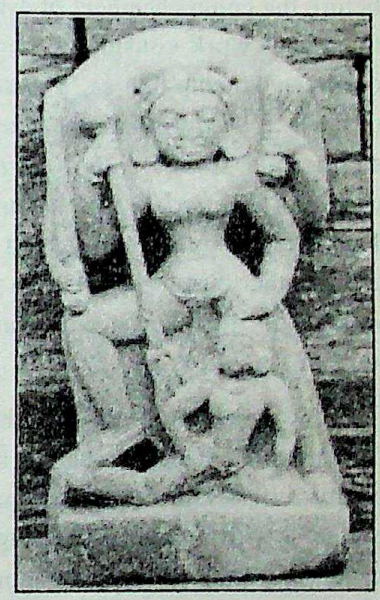

Fig.2

Sūrya :

Sūrya sculptures are very rare in the valley. A stone sculpture of Sūrya is noticed at Bondra temple. He is shown standing along with two miniature attendants *Danda* and *Piṅgla* on a raised pedestal. His charioteer *Aruṇa* is shown at his feet. The deity is holding full-blossomed lotus in both the hands which rise up to the shoulders as usually seen in the Sūrya sculptures of North India. The deity is embellished with *Kīrtimukuṭa* and wearing tastefully decorated ornaments. The scarf is passing through his hands reaches down to his feet. The treatment of body is quite sensitive to meet its iconographical requirement. The figure is shown statically standing in a strict frontal pose but the two attending figures with their triple bend are standing in contrast introducing as they do a rhythm in the composition. The face is somewhat conical with ridged eyebrows and curved eyelids. The lips are full and sensitive.

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On the lower left, *Danda* is shown with spear and on the lower right, *Piṅgla* is shown with pen and inkpot. On the stylistic ground, the sculpture can be ascribed to 10th century A.D.

Gaṇeśa :

Gaṇeśa, one of the most popular gods of the *Hindu Pantheon,* occupies the main position among the five principal Hindu gods. Gaṇeśa, being the lord of obstacle, is worshipped before the commencement of every ceremony or important work considered good for life. The devotees worship him as '*Vighneśa*' (the lord of obstacles), *Maṅgaladātā* (the giver of welfare and auspicious things), *Buddhividhātā* (god of wisdom), *Siddhidātā* (the bestows of success). Thus, He is popular throughout India and even certain other regions adjoining to the country. The valley, too, has, had a quite large share of the idols of the god.

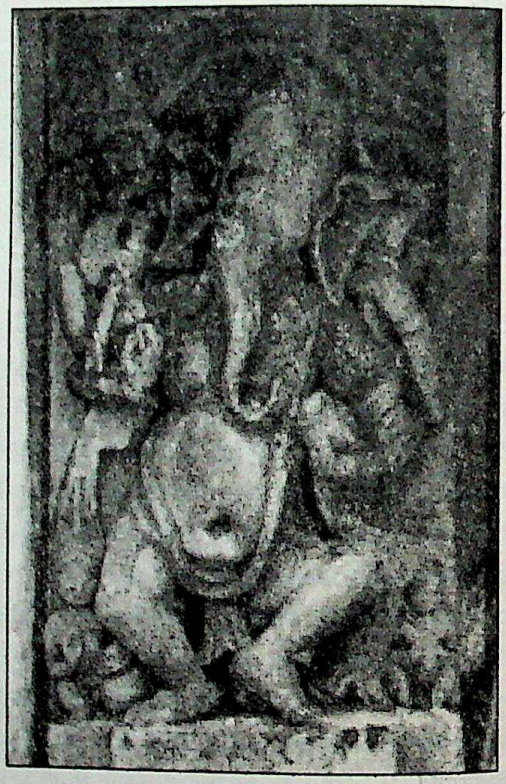

Fig.3

A stone sculpture of dancing Gaṇeśa at Durgā temple Hatkoti is placed in a niche of the platform (fig.3). The rare sculpture is artistically executed with fine bands, raising his right leg in the air and left leg slightly bent in rhythmic pose. He wears a small crown, a necklace, a bracelet, a *sarpa-yajñopavīta* and a loincloth. He is shown, as usual, pot-bellied and has single tusk with proboscis turned to left. The deity has eight arms holding a snake above his head in the two backhands in a whirling posture. The upper right hand is held in *tarjanī mudrā* and carries *akṣasūtra* (Rosary) and the lower right hand holds a *paraśu*. The upper left hand holds *mūlakanda* (raddish) and the lower left hand holds *modakapātra* while the lower most hand is broken. At the lower part, two attendants are engraved on either sides and on the upper portion of the slab; two *gandharva* figures are shown in the relief. The figure is full of grace and the artists could convert all the details to demonstrate in a remarkable manner such an apparently grotesque iconic type into an elegant piece of sculpture. On stylistic ground, this sculpture may be assigned to circa 10th century A.D.

Another stone sculpture of four-armed Gaṇeśa (fig.4) is placed in the *gavākṣa* of this

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Fig.4

temple. The deity is wearing usual ornaments and seated on a double petalled lotus in *ardhaparyaṅka* pose. The god has four arms holding a lotus bud and a *paraśu* in his left hand while in his upper right hand, he holds a raddish and the lower hand rests on the thigh. The sculpture seems to be of circa 9th century A.D. A four-armed Gaṇeśa sculpture at Bachoonch is carved with typical Pratihāra modeling showing local elements in the form of a lotus and a long receptacle for *modaka-pātra* in his hand. He is seated on a raised seat in *lalitāsana* wearing ornamented conical crown, bell necklace and *sarpayajñopavīta*. The use of garland of bells is seen in *yakṣa* figures of early 2nd century A.D. These figures are the ancient prototype of the idols of Gaṇeśa. He is broad-shouldered, pot-bellied and has small-legs. The deity is as usual with one tusk, *śūrpakarṇa*, an elephantine face with plane halo at the back. The deity has four hands and proboscis turned to the left and rising up to the shoulders. He holds a *paraśu* (battle-axe) in his upper right hand and his lower right hand held in *tarjanī* pose holds a rosary. His upper left hand holds a lotus while the lower left hand rests on his thigh, holding the long receptacle of ambrosia-pot, touched by the proboscis. The image corresponds to the description of the *Aparājitapṛcchhā* and the *Agnipurāṇa*. The sculpture may be assigned to early 10th century A.D. Another rare sculpture of Gaṇeśa from the same place is carved quite skillfully is seen seated in *Bhadrāsana*. He is wearing his usual ornaments. His stout body appears attractive and the head is somewhat small, suggesting a later development. The proboscis turned towards the right instead of the left holds *modaka* in it. His *vāhana mūśaka* appears at the right.

Fig.5

Śiva :

The valley is dominated by the Shaivite-cult. Śiva is worshipped in various forms. A stone sculpture of Śiva (fig.5) is noticed at Bachoonch standing in *samabhaṅga* posture. His mount Nandī is shown sitting in relaxing

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posture. The deity is shown with *jaṭā-mukuṭa, kuṇḍala, rudrākṣa-mālā* tied by a girdle known as *mekhalā* in Gupta period. He holds a trident in the front right hand and most probably a *kamaṇḍalu* in the back right hand. He is holding the head of the snake in the back left hand and the attribute in the front hand is broken. Most probably, he holds a *kapāla* in this hand. The sculpture may be assigned to 12th century A.D. Stone sculptures of Śiva-Pārvatī seated on Nandī are also noticed in large number in the valley.

Viṣṇu :

A large number of Viṣṇu sculptures are noticed in the valley. A stone sculpture of Viṣṇu (fig.6) standing against a plain rectangular Stella is found at Bondra temple complex. It is semicircular at the top and plain circular nimbus is carved on it. The figure is shown in a strict frontal pose. He is wearing high crown with *Kīrtimukha* and other ornaments are arranged beautifully on his body tastefully. He is holding his usual attributes. Mārkaṇḍeya and Bhūdevī kneeling on either side are standing in *tri-bhaṅga* posture with sharp contrast with the main figure. Two squatting figures are shown on either side at the upper part. Sculpture is partially damaged. *Āliṅgana-mūrti* of Viṣṇu and Lakṣmī seated on Garuḍa is found in large number at Bachoonch, Hatkoti and other places of the area.

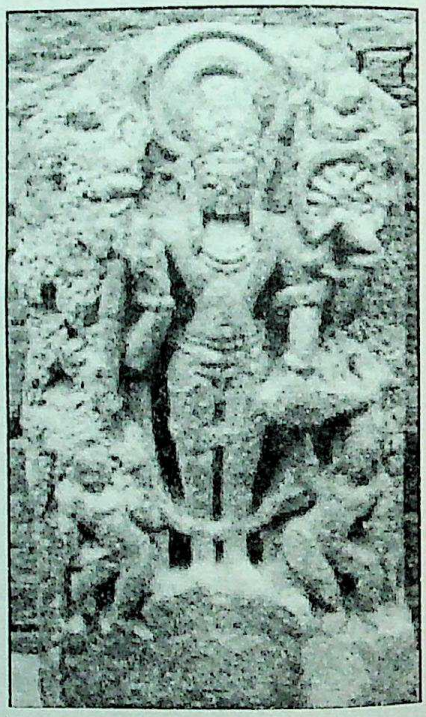

Fig.6

In addition to it, some architectural pieces like that of *Bhadramukhas* carved beautifully with interesting floral and geometrical patterns show the artistic skill of the regional artists in this remote area of Himachal Pradesh. Besides these architectural pieces, there are also woodcarvings of gods and goddesses, which speak of the mastery over the technique of woodcarving. Presently only few examples of these woodcarvings are noticed in temples and old houses, as these woodcarvings could not survive for long time because of their perishable nature. When a carving gets decayed a replica, some time depicting the old motifs and some time introducing new ideas replaces it. An interesting example of woodcarving done in a folk style is noticed on the ceiling of Śiva temple at Hatkoti (fig.7). The figures of different gods and goddesses like *Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa, Śiva-Pārvatī, Mahiṣāsuramardinī* etc. are carved out of a block of wood 2x2 feet and then made fit into and ornamented wooden frame. These carvings were done by the ruler of Jubbal State in the 19th century A.D. Wood carvings could also be noticed at the Durgā temple Hatkoti, Devatā Banar temple at Pujarli, Mahasu-devatā temple at Badiyar, Mahasu

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temple at Khashdhar and Bondra temple at Bachoonch in the Pabbar valley. In these temples wooden panels are carved with the magnificent figures of principal gods, animal figures, geometrical designs and battle scenes of Gods and Demons. Some old houses of royal families are decorated with the woodcarvings of beautiful birds, motifs and geometrical as well as floral designs.

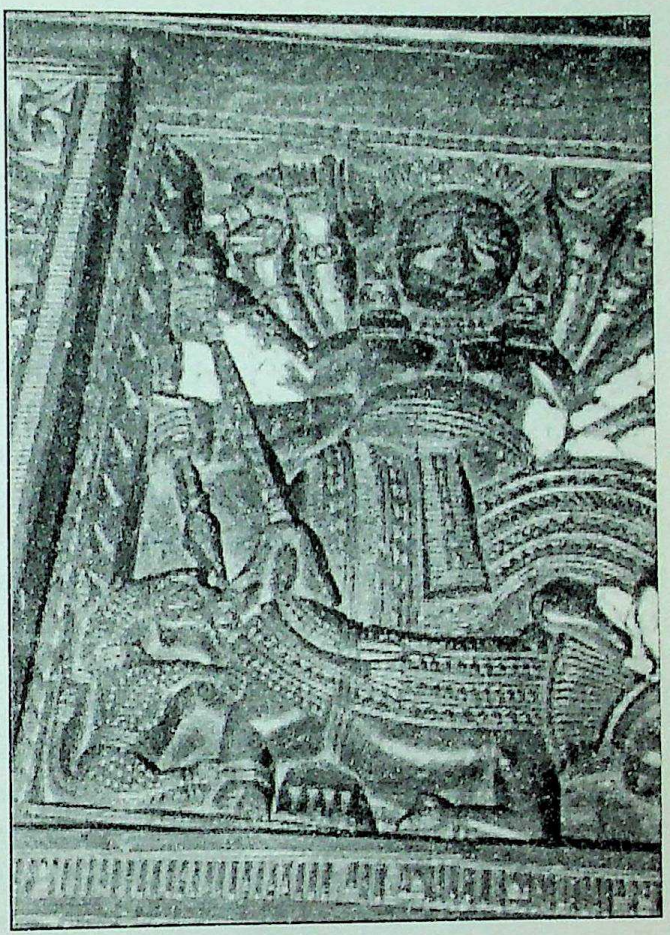

Fig.7

Fig.8

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RELIGION IN THE *VĀMADEVA SAṀHITĀ*

SHIVAPRIYA DEVI AND BIDYUT LATA RAY *

Prolegomenon :

Major religions of Orissa are Jainism, Buddhism, Śaivism, Śāktism, Viṣṇuism and Jagannāthism. In the pre-christian period, Jainism was the most important non-indigenous religion in Orissa. This religion through ups and downs continued to retain its dominant position upto the end of the 7th century A.D. In coastal Orissa, the people supported and respected the Jaina community down to the 12th century A.D. However, the religion lost its significance in the 16th century A.D. But the fame was revived again about year 1800 A.D., when Jaina merchants settled in Cuttack.[1]

Buddhism, after an unsuccessful attempt in the time of Aśoka, started to gain ground in Orissa from the 1st century A.D. onwards. It was flourishing about year 641 A.D., when Hiuen Tsang visited the country[2]. Under the Bhauma-Kara rulers in the 8th-10th centuries, Buddhism attained the peak of prosperity in its *Vajrayāna* form. Though this religion gradually declined after the *Bhaumakaras,* it was not totally extinguished from Orissa. Gajapati Mukundadeva of 16th century A.D. was the last ruler who patronised Buddhist religious establishments. Even thereafter the existence of the Buddhist community in Orissa can be traced.

Śaivism was in flourishing condition in Orissa long before the advent of the Mattamayūra and Lakuliśa cults. It seems that the cult of Lord Śiva had a parallel growth and development in Orissa region along with those in other parts of India. The Asanpat stone inscription in Keonjhar district containing a beautiful image of Naṭarāja is the earliest known epigraphic evidence indicating Śiva worship in this region[3]. It is the earliest Naṭarāja image found in Orissa and speaks of the popularity of Śaivism in this country in the 4th century A.D.

Journal of the Oriental Institute, Vol. 50, Nos. 1-4, Sept.-June 2000-2001 Issue, pp. 181-193.

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The early Nala Kings of Kośala (Western Orissa), Bhavadattavarman[4] and Arthapatirāja[5] in 5th century A.D. were devotees of Śiva. In Kaliṅga (South Orissa), though the Mathara Kings in 4th and 5th centuries A.D. were the patrons of Vaiṣṇavism, they had no dislike for Śaivism. Śatrudamana of Simhapura, who was probably a subordinate ruler under Mathara King Śaktivarman, was a devotee of Damaneśwara Śiva[6]. The Vaśistṣtha King Anantavarman also calls himself a devout worshipper of Maheśwara[7].

The eastern Guptas, who established their rule in Kaliṅga in 498 A.D., were great patrons of Śaivism. In the post-Gupta period, Śaivism became the strongest Hindu Sectarian movement in Orissa. The Gaṅga rulers were worshipping Gokarṇaswāmī Śiva installed on the crest of the mount Mahendra. In Uttara Toṣali or Utkala, Śaivism was in flourishing state during this time. In the last quarter of 6th century A.D., Mahārājā Śrī Śambhuyasa, the Mudgala King of this territory, was a devotee of Lord Śiva[8]. It was the dominating religion in central Orissa from the 6th century onwards. The province became a strong hold of Śaivism in the 7th century A.D., due to the efforts of Śaśāṅka and the Śailodbhavas. Both Mattamayūra and Pāśupata sects seem to have prevailed in Orissa during this period. Early in the second decade of seventh century A.D., Utkala was occupied by King Śaśāṅka of Karnasuvarna who was a devout *Śaiva* and a great patron of Śaivism. *Ekāmrapurāṇa*[9] repeatedly referred to the building of a magnificent temple for the *Liṅgam* of Tribhūvaneśvara at Ekāmra by the King Śaśāṅka who is known as Candramā in this work. After Śasāṅka, Śaivism found royal patronage under the Śailodbhavas of Kongodamaṇḍaḷa. The early Śaiva temples of Bhubaneswar, namely Paraśurāmeśvara, Śatrughneśvara, Bharateśvara, Svarṇajaleśvara and Lakṣmaṇeśvara were built during this period.

Śaivism, however, suffered a set-back in Orissa in the 8th century A.D., because of the fact that the early Bhaumakaras inclined towards Buddhism. However, the Śaivite activities continued with the support of some members of the Bhauma royal family[10].

P. Mukherji opines that the Śaivite form of worship was introduced in the Jagannātha temple after the arrival of Śaṅkarācārya at Puri in the 9th century A.D.[11] His teachings

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4. *Epigraphica Indica*, XIX, p.100f.
5. *Ibid.*, XXVIII, pp.12-16.
6. *Ibid.*, XXXI, pp.89-93.
7. *Ibid.*, XXIII, pp.56-61; XXIV, pp.47-52.
8. Soro plate of Sambhuyasa, E.I., XXIII, p.201.
9. *Ekāmra Purāṇa*, Chs.13, 48.
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prompted the spread of Śaivism in Orissa and might have exercised tremendous influence on the later Bhauma rulers, who embraced Śaivism[12]. Consequently, the cult of Śiva acquired a paramount position in Orissa in the 9th century A.D.

However, in the 10th and 11th centuries, Śaivism reached the peak of its glory during the reign of Somavaṁśī Kings. In spite of its down-fall caused due to the construction of the Jagannātha temple at Puri in the 12th century A.D. and the inclination of the Gaṅga Kings towards Viṣṇuism in the early 13th century A.D., Śaivism remained the religion of the majority of the people of Orissa down to the 17th century.

Śāktism was a Cult in Orissa older than Śaivism. This religion was more popular among the common masses. The worship of female deities worshipped by the lower strata of the society continued till it became a subject of the process of Hinduization. Moreover, no other religion could establish itself firmly in the Orissa-tract without coming to terms with Śāktism. The adherents of Śaivism and Buddhism did so at an early date, but Viṣṇuism and Jainism could not resist this process. From the 8th to the 11th centuries, Śāktism received royal support in Orissa[13]. The *Śāktas* of this region gained their greatest influence during this period. They later witnessed an important revival in the 16th century A.D.

On the basis of available archaeological data, it can be noticed that the Śāktism first appeared in Orissa two or three centuries before Christ. Yakṣiṇī and Nāgiṇī, the malevolent deities of the tribals are found in their sculptural representations in the second century B.C.[14] Of the earliest Yakṣiṇī and Nāgiṇī sculptures influencing the iconographic conceptions of the female principle, mention may be made of the crude Nāgiṇī figures with pot belly, bulging hips and five-hooded snake over the head, worshipped in a modern temple of the village Kapilaprasad near Bhubaneswar and several other Yakṣiṇī idols collected from the vicinity of Bhubaneswar and other parts of Orissa and now preserved in the Orissa State Museum at Bhubaneswar.

The beginning of the Christian era is marked as a transition period in the cultural history of Orissa. During this time, a large number of tribal deities were incorporated in Jainism, Buddhism and Hinduism. For instance, we can cite the image of *Stambheśvarī,* which is basically a tribal deity represented in the form of a pillar and this goddess was found worshipped in certain parts of Orissa. The Kalahandi copperplate of Tuṣṭikar indicates that she was worshipped as the family deity of the Sulkis. At present such a goddess is being worshipped at Sonepur in the district of Bolangir and at Aska in the district of Ganjam.

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12. *Ibid.*
13. Ray, B.L., *Op. cit.,* p.246.
14. Das, M.N., *Op. cit.,* p.351.

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The appearance of Śakti cult in the form of Mahiṣamardinī is very old. Particularly it first appeared in Orissa in the form of two-armed deity Virajā at Jajpur. Besides, Śakti is worshipped in Orissa in the form of Durgā, Pārvatī, Caṇḍī, Saptamātṛkās, Cāmuṇḍā, Maṅgalā, Vārāhī, Kālī, Vimalā, Carcikā, Bhagavatī, Nārāyaṇī, etc. Hence, it is worth mentioning that the worship of Aṣṭa-bhujā (eight-armed) Mahiṣamardinī bacame very popular during the reign of Bhaumakaras (c.736- c.948 A.D.) who patronised *tāntric* Buddhism, *tāntric* bhaktism and built a number of Śākta and Śaiva temples in the Prāchi valley, at Bhubaneswar, at Rāṇipur Jharial in the district of Bolangir and the famous Buddhist monasteries at Ratnagiri, Lalitagiri and Udayagiri in the district of present Jajpur. The Vaital temple for Cāmuṇḍā shows in its sculptures a strange amalgamation of Śāktism, Śaivism and Buddhism.

Vaiṣṇavism in Orissa is totally reflected in Jagannāthism. Viṣṇuism was by far the latest major Indian religious to reach central Orissa, the area where today Lord Jagannātha dominates the religious scene. Viṣṇuism is not traceable anywhere in the part of Orissa and Kaliṅga prior to the Gupta period. It advanced towards Orissa from the South and from the West. But its progress was slow and came to a stop outside the borders of Orissa in the post-Gupta period, when Śaivism and Śāktism rose to a prominent position. However, it is observed that Vaiṣṇavism attained its peak in the Gupta age and maintained its force under the patronage of Bhaumakaras. Above all, Jagannāthism, the complete form of Vaiṣṇavism in Orissa, embraces all other religions like Śāktism, Śaivism, Jainism and Buddhism which prevailed in the - then Orissa or are now prevailing in Orissa state. Due to the influence of various religions in Orissa, Lord Jagannātha is conceived as a god of *Śāktas, Sauras, Gāṇapatyas, Śaivas Vaiṣṇavas, Jainas* and *Bauddhas* et al. So, the cult of Jagannātha is regarded as the *'Gaṇa Dharma'* or the religion of the masses. Due to this reason, the Puruṣottama-kṣetra became, in the course of time, a religious centre for the adherents of all these sects. All the religions have been united in one, that is Jagannāthism. There is no distinction among caste, creed and colour in the pantheon of Jagannātha cult.

Vaiṣṇavism in *Vāmadeva Saṃhitā* :

The *Vāmadeva Saṁhitā* conceives Lord Jagannātha as a Viṣṇuite deity. This Purāṇa refers to Mahāviṣṇu[15] a number of times and Viṣṇu[16] very often. The triad Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Maheśa is also mentioned in the Purāṇa[17]. The *Vāmadeva Saṁhitā* describes *Pañcamukha* Brahmā[18] (five faced Brahmā) and *Caturbhūja* Viṣṇu[19] (four armed Viṣṇu). The

15. *Vāmadeva Saṁhitā (VS.),* 2.34; 6.78,79; 7.8,9,13,34,41; 10.1; 11.26,32; 12.18; and 14.34.
16. *Ibid.,* 15.26, 27,28,52,59; 16.29; 17.11; 20.20,24,49; 21.8,11,28.
17. *Ibid.,* 20.33.
18. *Ibid.,* 1.9.
19. *Ibid.,* 2.10.

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ten incarnations (*Daśāvatāra*) of Lord Jagannātha have been mentioned here[20]. These are Matsya, Kacchapa, Varāha, Vāmana, Nṛsiṁha, Paraśurāma, Rāma (Dāśarathi), Balarāma, Buddha and Kalkī in most of the Purāṇic and religious literature. But the list in the *Vāmadeva Saṁhitā* is somewhat different. It mentions Rāma, Balarāma, Paraśurāma, Kaśyapa, Kapila, Hayagrīva, Mīna, Varāha, Viśvarūpa and Dattātreya[21]. The Purāṇa describes Lord Jagannātha as Viṣṇu[22], Kṛṣna[23], Garuḍadhvaja[24], Mādhava[25], Nṛsiṁha[26], Vāsudeva[27] and Nārāyaṇa[28]. The Puruṣottama-kṣetra is the abode of Viṣṇu-Jagannātha[29]. It is crystal clear from the narrations of our present Purāṇa that Lord Jagannātha is a Viṣṇuite deity. He is Nīlamādhava[30]. He is the god of the Śabaras[31]. In the long past, he was being worshipped in the house of the great Śabara Viśvāvasu[32]. Lord Jagannātha is described as 'Garuḍa-dhvaja[33]. He uses the bird Garuḍa as his carrier and moves about the world with its help. The images of Viṣṇu and Garuḍa are commonly noticeable in the temple of Jagannātha which strongly recommend the Viṣṇu- version of the deity.

Lord Jagannātha is described as Kṛṣṇa[34], Vāsudeva[35] and Hari[36]. Balabhadra is described as Baladeva in our Purāṇa[37]. Jagannātha and Balabhadra are mentioned as Hari-Hara[38]. Lord Jagannātha is Hari (Viṣṇu) and Baladeva is Hara (Śiva). Lord Jagannātha is described as the same Hari who was in love with Rukmiṇī and Satyabhāmā[39]. He is the

20. *Ibid.*, 29.25.
21. *Ibid.*, 13.38; 15.4; 16.30.
22. *Ibid.*, 1.17; 2.3,10,13,15; 3.11,19,46; 4.38; 5.8; 6.30,42,51,76; 15.22.
23. *Ibid.*, 3.22; 15.4,5; 16.27,30.
24. *Ibid.*, 28.116,118.
25. *Ibid.*, 1.29; 2.19; 4.13,17; 5.52; 8.27; 17.37; 21.36.
26. *Ibid.*, 2.14; 4.12; 5.4,5,11,13; 7.53; 9.51; 11.13; 15.4; 20.13.
27. *Ibid.*, 6.13; 8.25; 15.2.
28. *Ibid.*, 13.37,46,47; 15.2.
29. *Nīlādri Mahodayam* (N.M.), 1.80a (B.L. Ray's Edition).
30. *Vāmadeva Saṁhitā* (V.S.), 1.10; 3.10; 3.21, 30.
31. *Ibid.*, 3.8,10,11,14,16,18,19,20,21,24,25.
32. *Ibid.*
33. *Ibid.*, 28.116, 118.
34. *Ibid.*, 3.22; 15.4,5; 16.27,30.
35. *Ibid.*, 6.13; 8.25; 15.2.
36. *Ibid.*, 7.9, 13, 43; 8.4; 9.1, 20; 10.4; 20.20; 21.10,14; 21.30.
37. *Ibid.*, 11.12,70; 14.22; 15.4; 16.7.
38. *Ibid.*, 13.50.
39. N.M., 8.296.

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Gopāla-Kṛṣṇa who was the lover of Gopīs, the maidens of Gopa[40]. Baladeva's weapons are a *Hala* (Plough) and a *Muṣala*[41]. Lord Jagannātha is Murārī[42]. He plays with the flute (*Vaṅśī*). He is Nārāyaṇa[43], whose wife is Kamalā or Lakṣmī[44]. Devotees of Lord Jagannātha are termed as *Vaiṣṇavas*[45]. Our Purāṇa, describes seven fold images (*Saptadhārūpa*) of Lord Jagannātha[46]. The birth of Kṛṣṇa has also been described here in this Purāṇa[47]. Lord Jagannātha has been depicted as Kṛṣṇa of *Dvāpara* age. He is the Viṣṇu-Kṛṣṇa who is the husband of Lakṣmī. He is the Nārāyaṇa who holds *Śaṅkha* (Conch), *Cakra* (Wheel) and the *Gadā* (Club)[48]. He is the *patitapāvana* who saves the destitutes from downfall[49]. He is the Janārdana who resides in Vaikuṇṭhabhuvana[50].

The *Vāmadeva Saṁhitā* depicts the ways in which the *Vaiṣṇavas* observe their *Dharma* and also hints at the nature of a *Vaiṣṇava*[51]. Such devotees are always engrossed with the prayer of *Bhāgavati*[52] and worship him in the form of a *Śāliagrāma*[53] (a piece of stone conceived as the deity) throughout the day and night. They put on *Tulasī*. These *Vaiṣṇavas* live in the Puruṣottama-kṣetra just like the inhabitants of *Vaikuṇṭha,* the abode of Viṣṇu[54]. Thus, the *Vāmadeva Saṁhitā* depicts Vaiṣṇavism conceiving Lord Jagannātha as the *Vaiṣṇava*-deity.

Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa Cult :

The *Vāmadeva Saṁhitā* refers to Rādhā[55] and Kṛṣṇa[56]. It describes the rites observed in the Śrīmandira on the day of *Rādhā-Śuklacaturdaśī*. The Purāṇa conceives Lord

40. *Ibid.*, 8.54.
41. V.S., 20.2.
42. *Ibid.*, 19.13,31.
43. *Ibid.*, 13.37,46,47æ9 15.2.
44. *Ibid.*, 20.37; 21.36; 5.52; 6,49; etc.
45. *Ibid.*, 13.54; 17.32.
46. *Ibid.*, 5.9.
47. *Ibid.*, 13.41.
48. N.M., 29, 69a.
49. V.S., 16.8.
50. *Ibid.*, 4.28; 6.25,43; 13.18,33,56; 14.39; 16.35; 17.8,10,14,34; 19.10,23,24,31; 20.8; 21.33.
51. V.S., 4.24.
52. *Ibid.*, 4.25.
53. *Ibid.*, 4.26.
54. *Ibid.*, 4.28.
55. *Ibid.*, 24.32.
56. *Ibid.*, 25.6,9,29,58.

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Jagannātha as Kṛṣṇa[57] and narrates *Kṛṣṇalīlā* (the deeds of Kṛṣna[58]. The birth of Kṛṣṇa[59] and his marriage with Rukmiṇī[60] and Ramā (Lakṣmī)[61] have been depicted nicely. Lord Kṛṣṇa (Jagannātha) is conceived as Dolagovinda[62]. Rādhā became popular in Orissa after the arrival of Śrī Caitanya in Puri in the year 1512 before the *Snāna yātrā* of Lord Jagannātha[63]. According to Mansingh, Caitanya universalised the Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa cult in Orissa[64]. He popularised the conception of identity of Jagannātha with Kṛṣṇa[65]. Caitanya and his followers devoted themselves to the cultivation of the emotional side of the Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa cult[66].

In the 12th century, i.e., long before Caitanya, the Oriya poet Jayadeva preached the cult of Love of Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa through the long and lucid verses of his *Gītagovindam.* But this widely came to fore during Caitanya's movement in the state through his *Nagara Kīrtana* in which all persons, irrespective of their sectarian beliefs, could participate.

Under the influence of Caitanya, the Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa cult was exalted by the contemporary writers. Poems on *'Rāsa'* or the sport of Kṛṣṇa with Rādhā and the Gopīs were composed by Acyutānanda and his associates. The *Rāsa-krīḍā* of Jagannātha Dāsa, the *Nitya Rāsa* of Acyutānanda, the *Tūla Śūnya Rāsa* of Ananta may be cited in this connection. In the *Śūnya-Saṁhitā,* Kṛṣna of Dvārakā and his consorts unsuccessfully tried to reach the eternal of *'Rāsa'.* Yaśovanta Dāsa in his *Premabhaktigītā* praises the mode of devotion by imitating the Gopīs[67].

According to *Jagannāthāmṛtagītā,* Śrī Kṛṣṇa in Nīlakandara faces the west and Rādhā faces the east. The two thus get merged into each other and seem transformed into the one figure of Jagannātha[68]. In the *Jagannātha--Caritāmṛtam,* it is said that Rādhā stays in the heart

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57. *Ibid.,* 24.38.
58. *Ibid.,* 24.39.
59. *Ibid.,* 25.65,73.
60. *Ibid.,* Ch.25.
61. *Ibid.,* 25.9,29.
62. *Ibid.,* 24.42.
63. Ray, B.L., *Studies in Sanskrit, Indology and Culture,* Classical Publishing Company, New Delhi, 1998, p.102.
64. Mansingh, M., *History of Oriya Literature,* Sāhitya Academy, Delhi, 1962, p.89.
65. Mahanty, S., *Oriya Sāhityara Madhya Parva,* Students Store, Cuttack, 1973, p.92.
66. Bhandarkar, R.G., *Vaiṣṇavism, Śaivism and Minor Religious Systems,* Asian Educational Service, New Delhi, 1983, p.117.
67. *Śūnya Saṁhitā,* X; *Premabhaktigītā,* III.
68. Divākara Vipra, *Jagannāthāmṛtagītā,* Ch.12, p.82.

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of Jagannātha and so does Śrī Kṛṣṇa[69]. The *Haribhaktivīlāsa* also mentions the Rādhā-worship in the context of the rituals, performed for the *'Navakalevara'* of the triad[70].

Dr. H.K. Mahatab suggests that the worship of Kṛṣṇa - Vāsudeva gradually lost itself in the worship of Gopāla-Kṛṣṇa which ultimately culminated in that of Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa. In the *Mahābhārata* of Sāralā Dāsa, we find references to the love of Kṛṣṇa for the Gopīs. The *Gītagovindam* of Jayadeva describes Jagannātha (or Jagadīśa) as Kṛṣṇa[71]. Both Kṛṣṇa and Jagannātha take incarnations and hence they are considered as the same deity. But the devotees of Kṛṣṇa believe that Kṛṣṇa is the supreme Vaiṣṇavite deity who has ten incarnations, and that Jagannātha is a part (*Aṃśa*) of His. The Orissan *Vaiṣṇavas*, on the other hand, regard Jagannātha is the supreme deity and believed that Kṛṣṇa is just a sixteenth part of Jagannātha[72].

Thus, it is evident that Kṛṣṇa-cult and Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa-cult are merged in Jagannātha - cult or Puruṣottama cult in the course of their development. Consequently, the devotees of both Rādhā and Kṛṣṇa mingled in Kṛṣṇa-Jagannātha pantheon and came to be regarded as the *Vaiṣṇavas* who worshipped Puruṣottama-Jagannātha as Viṣṇu.

Nṛsiṁha Cult :

The *Vāmadeva Saṁhitā*[73] describes the Nṛsiṁha aspect of Lord Jagannātha. Nṛsiṁha is a Viṣṇuite version of the Tāntric practice of the worship of the furious deities. The birth ceremony of Nṛsiṁha is observed in the temple of Lord Jagannātha where the icon of Nṛsiṁha is installed near the deity Jagannātha for worship[74]. Very often the word Nṛsiṁha has been used in our Purāṇa attributing various aspects of the deity in connection with Jagannātha cult. According to the *Nīlādri-Mahodayam*, Lord Jagannātha is worshipped here at Nīlācala as Nṛsiṁha who kills the demons (*Daityas*)[75] and destroys the evils and dangers[76]. Our *Purāṇa Vāmadeva Saṁhitā* describes that Nṛsiṁha *mantra* will be used to purify the well of Jagannātha temple if at any time there occurs any evil[77]. This Purāṇa identifies Nṛsiṁha with Narasiṁha[78]. The iconological analysis also supplies sufficient evidence to

69. *Jagannātha Caritāmṛtam*, p.66.
70. *Haribhakti Vilāsa*, p.156.
71. *Gītagovindam, Daśāvatāra.*
72. Das, S.N., *Jagannātha Mandira O Jagannātha Tattva*, pp.83-85.
73. V.S., 24.34, 35.
74. *Ibid.*, 24.33.
75. N.M., 6.15b.
76. *Ibid.*, 3.58b.
77. V.S., 9.51, 53.
78. *Ibid.*, 20.13.

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identify Narasiṁha with Jagannātha. B.L. Ray[79] has discussed on this point in her monumental work '*Jagannātha Cult*' to unveil the peculiar characteristics of Jagannātha-figure resembling to those of Narasiṁha. In iconography, Narasiṁha is associated with the wooden post commonly representing tribal deities of Orissa. The *Nīlādri-Mahodayam* mentions the Narasiṁha version of Lord Jagannātha by describing the most popular mythological event of tearing up the demon Hiraṇyakaśipu[80]. As widely worshipped in western Orissa, the pillar in the palace of Hiraṇyakaśipu out of which Narasiṁha appeared, has been turned into a wooden post.

Narasiṁha is the guardian deity of the temple of Lord Jagannātha and all the rites beginning from cooking to *pūjā* are preceded by offerings to Narasiṁha first. The *Nṛsiṁha Tāpinī Upaniṣad* holds that Narasiṁha is the emblem of Brahma who is the indeterminate Being and of whom Jagannātha is the determinate form[81]. Lord Jagannātha in his Nṛsiṁha aspect is worshipped during the period of *Aṇavasara* when the deity falls ill and does not appear before the devotees owing to his sufferings. It is also evident from the rites of *Navakalevara* that the *Dārus* assume the shapes of the four Jagannātha deities by the use of the most effective *Narasiṁha-Mantrarāja*[82]. It is, thus, clear that Lord Jagannātha is the unification of Puruṣottama, Kṛṣṇa and Narasiṁha or Nṛsiṁha. The concept of Puruṣottama builds a bridge between the two iconological characters, i.e., Narasiṁha and Kṛṣṇa. Both the deities Narasiṁha and Puruṣottama are worshipped in Tāntric ways.

Rāma Cult :

The *Vāmadeva Saṁhitā* refers to Rāma incarnation of Lord Jagannātha[83]. As Rāma belongs to the family of Raghu, he is called Rāghava[84]. Hanumān, the devotee of Rāma has also been mentioned in our Purāṇa[85]. Rāma came into the world by birth in *Tretāyuga*[86]. He killed Rāvaṇa and went to Vaikuṇṭha[87]. He sent Hanumān to Laṅkā, the kingdom of Rāvaṇa, in quest of his wife Sītā. Hanumān located Sītā in Laṅkā and informed Rāma accordingly. Rāma became happy with this and gave blessings to Hanumān and said, "You

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79. Ray, B.L., *Op.cit.*, 1998, p.250.
80. N.M., 3.59a.
81. Mishra, K.C., *Cult of Jagannātha,* Firma K.L. Mukhopadhāya, Calcutta, 1971, p.153.
82. N.M., 5.51b.
83. V.M., 13.18; 15.4; 16.30.
84. *Ibid.,* 13.34.
85. *Ibid.,* 13.33.
86. *Ibid.,* 13.32.
87. *Ibid.,* 13.33.

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will become monkey and will continue to live as long as the earth exists"[88]. In the past, Brahmā had predicted that Rāma's place in Utkala region will be known as Puruṣottama[89] (Purī). Since Lord Jagannātha is the Puruṣottama, his place is called Puruṣottama Kṣetra or simply Puruṣottama. Rāma again told Hanumān to stay in Puruṣottama in the name of Kumuda. By the order of Rāma, Hanumān went to Puruṣottama-kṣetra and stayed there in meditating form[90].

From the above discussions, it is clear that Lord Jagannātha represents Rāma, Kṛṣṇa and Nṛsiṁha[91]. Ostensibly, Jagannātha cult embraces the religious beliefs of Rāma, Kṛṣṇa and Nṛsiṁha.

Śaivism :

The *Vāmadeva Saṁhitā* refers to Hari-Hara[92] worship in Śrīkṣetra (Purī). Lord Jagannātha is conceived as Hari (Kṛṣṇa)[93] and Balabhadra as Hara (Śiva)[94]. Lord Śiva is called Vṛṣabhadhvaja[95] in our Purāṇa as Vṛṣabha is his Vāhana (chariot). This Hari-Hara worship prevailed in Śrīkṣetra from 9th century A.D., when Śaṅkarācārya preached this in Orissa[96]. The conflict raised between Vaiṣṇavism and Śaivism was solved by the introduction of Hari-Hara worship. According to *Brahma-Purāṇa,* the Puruṣottamakṣetra was primarily a Vaiṣṇava kṣetra. But, then to appease the Śaivites, Mārkaṇḍeya requested the divine child lying on the Banyan leaf to establish a temple of Śiva in this Kṣetra; Puruṣottama granted his request[97]. Puruṣottama says, "There is no difference between Śiva and Viṣṇu. They are one like sky and air."[98]

From the iconographical and literary sources, it is known that Lord Jagannātha was identified with Bhairava. In the *Rudrayāmala Tantra,* Lord Jagannātha is described as Bhairava and Vimalā as his Śakti (Bhairavī)[99]. For some time, both *Śaivas* and *Vaiṣṇavas*

88. *Ibid.*, 13.34.
89. *Ibid.*, 13.35.
90. *Ibid.*, 13.38.
91. *Ibid.*, 15.4.
92. *Ibid.*, 13.50.
93. *Ibid.*, 7.9,13,43; 8.4; 9.1,20; 10.4; 20.20; 21.10,14,30.
94. *Ibid.*, 17.2.
95. *Ibid.*, 1.2,6.
96. Mahāpātra, G.N., *The Land of Viṣṇu,* B.R. Publishing Corporation, Delhi, 1979, p.59.
97. *Brahma Purāṇa, 56.23-26.*
98. *Ibid.*, 56.69-70.
99. Ray, B.L., *Op.cit.*, p.252 and fn.136.

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together worshiped the wooden God. He was probably considered as Bhairava by the *Śaiva* community and as Narasiṁha by the *Vaiṣṇava* community. Though the latter gradually predominated over the former, the Śaiva tradition could not be totally wiped out. It is likely that two gods of the same shape were simply juxtaposed Śiva *Bhairava* in his Ekapāda form and Narasiṁha Puruṣottama. In the later *Pañcarātra* interpretation, they became the brothers Balabhadra and Jagannātha. Early *Vaiṣṇava* literature also accepts Balabhadra as Śiva or Śaṅkarṣaṇa. The third image of Jagannātha-triad, the image of Subhadrā has been identified with the wife of Śiva. This is because she stands to the left of Balabhadra (Śiva) and represents his Śaktī.

The present Purāṇa describes the *Śaiva*-aspect of Balabhadra and includes the names of Gaurī[100], Pārvatī[101] and Umā[102] as his *Śaktī*. Various studies reveal the fact that the Śiva-worship prevailed in the Eastern India anterior to Viṣṇu-worship. In the Utkal region of Eastern India, it is also observed that Liṅgarāja of *Ekāmra-kṣetra* (Bhubaneswar) was regarded as the presiding deity of the Śaivas when the Āryan- *Vrātyas* assimilated there. Our Purāṇa refers to Śivaliṅgas like Mārkaṇḍeśvara[103], Yameśvara[104], Nīlakaṇṭha[105], Kapālamocana[106], and Koṭiliṅgeśvara[107] of Śrīkṣetra (Purī). The *Vāmadeva Saṁhitā* also depicts that Mahāviṣṇu (Jagannātha) should be worshipped thinking him both Śiva and Bhavānī. Evidently this predicts that the Śaivism as well as the Śāktism are mingled together in the Jagannāthism.

Śāktism :

Śakti cult is the most ancient one. It still remains as the cult of common mass Originally, it was neither associated with Śaivism nor with Viṣṇuism. In course of time, it was incorporated into the framework of both Śivaism and Viṣṇuism. The Śaivites appropriated the Mother Goddess as the wife of Śiva and the Vaiṣṇavas/Bhāgavatas also endeavoured to incorporate the Mother into their cult and to associate her with Kṛṣṇa/Viṣṇu. The *Devīmāhātmya* of Mārkaṇḍeyapurāṇa (5th c.A.D.) has played a significant role in bringing Viṣṇuism and Śāktism together. In the very beginning of this text, the Mother

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100. V.S., 6.30; 16.26; 27.
101. *Ibid.*, 1.2,6,11,24,31,46; 4.2; 6.2; 7.38,41; 8.2; 9.45,46;11.2,73; 12.22.
102. *Ibid.*, 19.14.
103. *Ibid.*, 2.24.
104. *Ibid.*, 2.25,36.
105. *Ibid.*, 2.31.
106. *Ibid.*, 2.37.
107. *Ibid.*, 2.26.

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Goddess has been described as Bhagavatī and the Nidrā of Viṣṇu[108], as well as Mahāmāyā[109]. The epithet 'Nidrā of Viṣṇu' has been named 'Ekānaṁśā' in the *Harivaṁśa*. It is found almost in an unchanged form in the Purāṇas of Viṣṇu (5th c.A.D.) and *Bhāgavata* (9th - 10th c.A.D.). The association of Mother Goddess with Kṛṣṇa and Balarāma in the 1st century A.D. is also attested by a relief of the Kuṣāṇa period found in Mathura and now preserved in Karachi Museum in which this Ekānaṁśā, the Nidrā of Viṣṇu or the Yogamāyā is depicted as standing in the middle with Kṛṣṇa and Balarāma on either sides[110]. We have three more representations of this trinity (Ekānaṁśā, Balarāma and Kṛṣṇa) in the rock temple of Ellorā (7th c.)[111] and on two stone panels found in Etah (U.P.) and Imadpur (Bihar) respectively, both belonging to the 11th-12th centuries[112]. In the temple of Lord Jagannātha, the Goddess Subhadrā represents Ekānaṁśā.

The *Vāmadeva Saṁhitā* refers to Aṣṭa-Śakti (eight Goddesses) including Bhavānī present in Śrī kṣetra[113]. As discussed earlier, Bhavānī is conceived as the wife of Śiva. We also trace the names of Umā, Pārvatī, Bhubaneśvarī, Dakṣiṇakālikā, Kamalā, Gaurī, Lakṣmī, Vimalā, Sarasvatī, Durgā, Rādhā and Maṅgalā etc. in our Purāṇa[114]. Besides, Subhadrā is the common goddess referred many times alongwith Jagannātha and Balabhadra[115]. Subhadrā is mentioned as the sister of Jagannātha and Balabhadra. As Ekānaṁśā, She is the *Śakti* of the other two. Durgā is conceived as the *Ādyā Śakti,* the primeval one.

The most significant Goddess of Jagannātha temple is the Vimalā. The genesis of this *Śakti* in Śrīmandira can be dated as far back as to the period prior to the composition of the *Matsyapurāṇa*[116]. The mode of worship of Jagannātha-triad is Tāntric like that of the

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108. *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa,* 1.70.

109. *Ibid.*

110. Ray, B.L., *Op.cit.*, p.254 and fn.161.

111. Kumar Krishna, "An Ekānaṁśā Relief at Ellora" in the *Journal of Indian History,* Vol.44,3,831-838.

112. Mahapatra, K.N., 'The Worship of Jagannātha, Balabhadra and Subhadrā' in the *Śrīī Jagannātha Smārikā,* Delhi, 1969, p.49.

113. V.S., 2.35.

114. *Ibid.,* Umā - 19.14; Pārvatī - 13.26; 18.8; 19.15; 21.8,31; Bhubaneśvarī - 15.3; Dakṣiṇakālikā - 26.3; Kamalā - 20.37; 21.36; Gaurī - 6.30; 16.26; 27; Lakṣmī - 5.52; 6.49; 11.12; 12.16; 13.6,29; 17.4,5,20,26,35,37; Vimalā - 1.23,39; 2.12,37; 3.19; 6.16; 16.39,41,43; Sarasvatī - 5.52; 11.12; Durgā - 4.13; 6.18; 11.14; Rādhā - 24.32; Maṅgalā - 2.27; 37.38; 6.18.

115. *Ibid.,* 5.31; 6.17; 14.29,15.5; 16.7,11,27,28; 17.25; 19.3; 20.3, etc.

116. Ray, B.L., *Op.cit.,* P.255 and fn.172.

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Vedic. Vimalā is conceived as Bhairavī and Lord Jagannātha as Bhairava[117]. The rice offered to Lord Jagannātha becomes *Mahāprasāda* only after it is taken to Vimalā's temple and offered to the Goddess there. With the assimilation of the Vedic and Tāntric rituals, the Vedic deity Viṣṇu-Jagannātha was linked with Vimalā as her Bhairava, while she, in an unnatural way, became his *Śakti*, i.e., Bhairavī. Later, when Lakṣmī came to the picture, Vimalā's relationship with Jagannātha was retarded. Presently, Vimalā is conceived as the *Śakti* of Balabhadra (Śiva).

Besides the above cults, Jagannāthism has also embraced Buddhism, Jainism and Nathism to some extent. But, our Purāṇa *Vāmadeva Saṁhitā* does not refer to the Buddha, Jaina and Nātha aspects of the cult of Lord Jagannātha. Probably, these concepts are later additions to Jagannātha cult. Moreover, the contention that the Puri triad owes its origin to Buddhism has been rejected by many scholars[118] with adequate reasons there to. Even Dr. Mahatab, a staunch supporter of the Buddhist origin of Jagannātha, does not accept the tooth-legend that conceives the transfer of the tooth of Buddha to the body of Lord Jagannātha, because it has no historical base[119].

The concept of Puruṣottama in Jainism is not necessarily the same as that of Puruṣottama-Jagannātha. Due to the patronisation of Jaina Kings of Orissa, the influence of Jainism on the cult of Jagannātha has been effected. But, the philosophy of the two religions is not the same. Neither the figure of Jagannātha nor the cult owes its origin to Jainism. In the *Vāmadeva Saṁhitā*[120], Lord Jagannātha is described as Viṣṇu, Kṛṣṇa, Rāma and Nṛsiṁha. Our Purāṇa conceives Lord Jagannātha as *Puruṣottama*[121] and his *Kṣetra* as *Puruṣottama-kṣetra*[122]. It also mentions that the *Kṣetra* is a *Vaiṣṇava-Kṣetra*[123]. As already analysed, the *Śaiva* and *Śākta* thoughts are also introduced into the cult of Jagannātha. But, the *Vaiṣṇava* philosophy prevails upon all other pantheons. The iconography and the mode of worship of Jagannātha triad forward the above idea concretely.

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117. Mishra, K.C., *Op.cit.*, p.107.
118. Ray, B.L., *Op.cit.*, p.256 and fn.190.
119. Mahatab, H.K., *History of Orissa*, Pt. II, Prajatantra Prachar Samiti, Cattack-2, 1960, p.514.
120. V.S., *Viṣṇu Svarūpakam* - 2.3 *Rāmaṁ ca Kṛṣṇaṁ ca Nṛsiṁharūpam* - 15.4.
121. *Ibid.*, 2.4.
122. *Ibid.*, 2.2.
123. *Ibid.*, 2.6.

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CONTRIBUTION OF THE SANSKRIT EPIGRAPHS OF GUJARAT IN THE MAKING OF NATIONAL HERITAGE

RASESH JAMINDAR*

Corroborated by innumerable coins, inscriptions and copper-plates found across our country, it seems, Sanskrit was our national language in earlier periods of our history and was *Lingua franca* down to 13th century A.D. These epigraphs were the medium through which governments through the ages directly communicated with their respective subjects. Sanskrit being their language, naturally its contribution, both as a language and literature, in the growth of our culture is not only invaluable but unique too. It was the language of our culture, of our life-style and of our researches. Almost all sorts of literary activities were developed through this very language. The literature in Sanskrit were of very high order, copious and internationally known. Since time immemorial SKT has been expressing our thoughts, beauty, hopes and wishes, for it has a unique character of continuity which probably is matchless. No other language of the universe has earned such a distinction of continuity.

In the making of our national heritage through the ages SKT has a pivotal role to play. Gujarat is no exception. Hence here is an attempt to briefly provide the random resume of the contribution of Gujarat in the field of SKT epigraphs from earlier times to this day.

In spite of the synthetic fabric of our cultural unity, every one of our regions from the remotest times, has developed and possessed social and cultural traditions of its own. It is this synthesis, of these separate and diverse socio-cultural traditions subsisting in different parts of our country and at the same time possessing distinctive individualities, that constitutes the mosaic of *Bhāratīya Sanskṛti.*[1]

Gujarat has been from the most earliest times a busy field of actions, reactions and interactions of many ethnic and linguistic forces in Indian sub-continent. Waves after waves

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Journal of the Oriental Institute, Vol. 50, Nos. 1-4, Sept.-June 2000-2001 Issue, pp. 195-204.

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1. Jamindar Rasesh, "Cultural Contours of Gujarat and its Contributions in the making of National Heritage", *Bulletin of the Chunilal Gandhi Vidhya Bhavan,* Vol. No.28, Surat, March 1985, pp.34 to 49

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of nations and races have swept over its face with their peculiar social, cultural and political institutions; languages, creeds, cultures as varied and variegated as themselves. But during all these phases and processes, SKT remained a back-bone factor across the time.

Keeping aside the undeciphered epigraphs at some of the Harappan sites of so called proto-historic times in Gujarat as well as many found but unpublished epigraphs of all historical periods the known and deciphered as well as published epigraphs of Gujarat commence with the Mauryan period. Especially SKT epigraphs of Gujarat range upto the end of the Chaulukya dynasty in 1304 A.D. But during Sultnate, Babury, Maratha and British periods of Gujarat, we come across several SKT inscriptions along with those in the court's languages. This means that Gujarat, right from the Mauryan times down to the British rules, is very rich in SKT epigraphs.

Several collections, Bibliographies, Directories or book on historical, religious and archaeological places offer us good glimpse about SKT epigraphs of Gujarat. Detailed discussions and descriptions are not possible here, we may refer a few of them.

Both Burgess and Cousens have painstakingly noticed and published some inscriptions pertaining to Gujarat in their "*Revised List of Antiquarian Remains in the Bombay Presidency*" (1862) and works on the "*Architectural and Archaeological Remains in Kathiawad and Kachchh*" and so also of North Gujarat. Similarly D.P. Khakhkhar noticed several inscriptions of Kachchh in his "*Report on the Architectural and Archaeological Remains in the Province of Kachchh*" (1879). Compbell edited "*A Collection of Prakrit and Sanskrit Inscriptions*" published by the Bhavnagar Archaeological Department. Vajeshanker Gaurishanker Oza has published "*Bhāvanagara Prācīna Śodhasaṁgraha*" (1887). A.S. Gadre's "*Important Inscriptions from the Baroda State*" (1943) is also noteworthy. "*Prācīna Jaina Lekha-Saṅgraha*" (1921) by Muni Jinavijayaji contains numerous inscriptions of Jain temples at Shatrunjaya, Girnar and other places in Gujarat. *Ācārya* Kanchansagar Suri gives the text of all the inscriptions (numbering 586) of the Jaina temples at Shatrunjaya hill in his book "*Śrī Śatruñjaya Girirāja-Darśana ane Śilpa-Sthāpatyakalāmān Śatruñjaya*" (1982) many of them are in SKT compiled and dynastywise classified by G.V. Acharya and published by Bombay-based Farbes Gujarati Sabha in the years 1933, 1935 and 1942 in three volumes entitled as "*Historical Inscriptions of Gujarat*" contain around 310 historical inscriptions dated from 3rd century B.C. to *circa* 1300 A.D. It is no doubt a monumental work on epigraphs of Gujarat. D.B. Diskalker prepares a systematic collection of "*Inscriptions of Kathiawad*" mainly on the impressions of inscriptions taken earlier by Vallabhji H. Acharya and published in "*New Indian Antiquary*" Vols. 1 to 3 (1939-40) containing some 193 inscriptions many of them are in SKT. Dr. H.G. Shastri's book "*Svasampādita Śilālekho ane Tāmrapatro : Vigato ane*

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Vivecana'' (1991) was published by Gujarat Itihas Parishad and contains 66 inscriptions. A similar compilation was contributed by Dr. P.C. Parikh and Dr. Bharati K. Shelat in 1996 titled as ''*Gujarātanā Abhilekho: Svādhyāya ane Samīkṣā*''. It contains nearly 20 SKT epigraphs.

Published by the Gujarat Itihas Parishad in its serialized publication named as *Gujarāta Itihāsa Sandarbhasūcī*, we have nearly five compilations on Bibliographies on Inscriptions of Gujarat from 1962 onwards, covering stone-inscriptions, copper-plates inscriptions and image inscriptions. These Bibliographies enlist nearly 439 Prakrit-Sanskrit inscriptions on stones and copper-plates as well as 668 image-inscriptions dated upto 1300 A.D.; 443 Sanskrit-Gujarati and Gujarati inscriptions on stone and copper-plates dated from 1301 to 1760 A.D. plus 3695 image-inscriptions dated from 1301 to 1700 A.D. as well as 623 Arabic and Persian inscriptions dated from 920 to 1953 A.D. Thus total number of the published inscriptions of Gujarat enlisted in these Bibliographies amount to 5868. This list was prepared and published between 1960 and 1972. The additions of the inscriptions published thereafter and numerous inscriptions lying unpublished would bring in an immense increase in this number. Of these, nearly 4000 inscriptions are in SKT. Thus Gujarat can boast to be very rich in SKT epigraphs. These Bibliographies of the Gujarat Itihas Parishad, though do not give the text of any inscriptions, are of immense value for a beginner in research or equally good to a seasoned historian at a time of writing his article, as they give all the relevant information pertaining to every inscription right from its find spot to its publication covering the date, the king concerned, equivalent date in Christian era as well as other references.

The ever first independent state of Gujarat, which was not only the vast in geographical extent (i.e. from Pushkar-Ajmer in the north through Nasik in the south and Ujjain in the east through the sea-shore in the west), but also the longest ruled (23 A.D. to 398 A.D.) state in the early history of our country, was ruled by the Western Kshatrapa kings (hence forth WKS). They have issued their own silver coins, which have helped in framing their chronology and designing their genealogy. The legend on their coins is in SKT which is engraved on the reverse side. The significant point in their coinage is that of the use of the genitive or possessive case (i.e. *Ṣaṣṭhī Vibhakti*). On some coins the father's name is mentioned in genitive case (*Jayadāmasya putrasya*), while on some we find *Samāsa* (i.e. compound) (*Jayadāma putrasa*). The use of genitive case is very commonly found in Western Kshatrapa coins. This *Pratyaya* (termination) is used twice; first with father's name and again with the king himself who issued it. The *Pratyaya 'Sa'* used for father is good in relation with son but the usage of the same for the king suggests that it is related with the year of issuing the coins or is also suggestive of the possessive nature of the coins for in SKT for

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suggesting *Svāmitva* (lordship) the use of *'Sa'* was always there.[2]

The WKS have also contributed in the growth of SKT by offering us nearly more than three dozen epigraphs found from different parts of the western region of our country. Of these, couple of them needs our attention from language point of view, a brief discussion will be given later on.

The Maitraka kings of Valabhi (470-788 A.D.) figure prominently in the history of Gujarat as the second independent State of the Gujarat. We do not come across any authentic coins of these kings, but they issued copper-plate-grants of stereotype style and therefore astonishingly we do not get any stone inscriptions of this dynasty. But even then these copper-plates in SKT throw ample light on the growth of the SKT language. Issued by successive Maitraka kings these grants of land (*Bhūmidāna*), no doubt, display their proficiency in literary compositions in eulogising royal donors. These eulogistic passages are composed in the high prose style abounding in fluent, figurative and elegant expressions. These copper-plate inscriptions of the Maitrakas form the most copious source of information for understanding the state of SKT language and *Brāhmī* script. They range between 502 and 766 A.D. and issued by 16 out of the 19 Maitraka kings, these grants number more than hundred and continuously more and more such grants of this dynasty come to our knowledge.[3]

The contemporary dynasties during the rule of the Maitraka kings were the Chaulukya dynasty of Navasarika, the Gurjaras of Nandod-Bharucha and the political sway over Gujarat of the Lata branch of the Rashtrakutas of the Deccan are prominent. They issued several epigraphs written in SKT numbering nearing 40. The post-Maitraka dynasty of Saindhava kings also did contribute in the growth of SKT through their epigraphs. All these epigraphs were of high prose style and some of them in verse. e.g. epigraphs of Karka II, copperplates of Indraraja III, Pulkesin Avanijanashraya[4].

During the Chaulukya dynasty (942 to 1304 A.D.) we come across both copper-plate

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2. Jamindar Rasesh, *Kṣatrapakālanun Gujarāta,* Gujarat Vidyapith, Ahmadabad, 1975 and his two articles : (1) "Some Thoughts on the Moot Problems of the Two Royal Dynasties of Western India: An appraisal" *Panchal,* Vol.10, Kanpur, 1997, pp.121-130, and (2) "The State of Jaina Faith in Gujarat under the Western Kshatrapas: An overview Appraisal" *Journal of the Oriental Institute,* Vol.49, Nos. 1-2, Vadodara, pp.75-84. (henceforth JOI)
3. Shastri, H.G., *Gujarat under the Maitrakas of Valabhi,* Gaekwad's Oriental Series, No.180, Oriental Institute, Vadodara, 2000 A.D.
4. Acharya, G.C., *Gujarātnā Aitihāsik Lekho,* Vol. 2, Nos. 120, 133, 134 (henceforth GAL) as well as *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum,* Vol. 4, No.3 (hence forth CII)

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edicts and stone inscriptions in very good numbers. All these epigraphs, numbering nearly hundred, are in SKT, and are composed by accomplished poets, many of them give the glance of the development of SKT language. It will be of prime interest to review couple of select inscriptions of this dynasty in the perspective of literary merit later[5].

The Vaghela dynasty also do not lag behind in the development of SKT. They offer nearly two dozen inscriptions which are in SKT.

From thirteenth century onward till the end of the British rule, we do get SKT epigraphs providing information of either the construction or repair of the temples, wells, stepwells etc. in view of the *Pūrtakārya.* We get nearly 14 records pertaining to temples from V.S. 1366 to 1627; about 13 epigraphs relating to stepwells from V.S. 1375 to 1583 and just 4 inscriptions from V.S. 1437 to 1594 during the times of the Gujarat Sultnate[6]. Likewise we also get SKT and SKT-Gujarati inscriptions in the times of the Babury rule in Gujarat for the same purposes. It is important to note that during the Babury dynasty the activities of construction and repair of the temples, wells as well as stepwells continued vigourously more than that of the Sultanate period. Therefore, we come across nearly 40 such records from V.S. 1659 to 1808 of this period. The sixty years short rule of the Marathas are equally important for SKT epigraphs. During the Maratha rule in Gujarat, except with one example of Marathi inscription of Dabhoi in Vadodara district dated V.S. 1701, we get all the inscriptions in SKT. The activity of the constructing new temples during British period goes on decreasing. Hence engraving of SKT epigraphs pertaining to this activity was on low ebb. Therefore we do not come across as many epigraphs as we get during the Sultanate, Babury and Maratha periods[7].

Now we review some of the most important epigraphs through the ages from the language view point.

Written in both PKT and SKT Girinagar Rock-edicts is the earliest epigraphic evidence. This hill-edict bears three inscriptions engraved on the rock. On the east there is an inscription of Aśoka in Pali and in prose. On the west it bears the Rudradāman's inscription in SKT prose and on the north of the rock Skandagupta had engraved his legend in verse. Though the names of their authors are unknown, we may just infer that they must

5. Majumdar, A.K., *Chaulukyas of Gujarat,* Bombay, 1956 and Shastri, D.K., *Gujarātno Madhyakālīna Rājputa Itihāsa,* 2 Vols, Ahmedabad, 1953
6. GAL; *Bhāvanagara Prācīna Śodhasaṁgraha,* 1887; Diskalkar, D.B. *Inscriptions of Kathiawad,* Bombay, 1994
7. *Gujarātano Rājakīya ane Sānskṛtika Itihāsa,* Vols. 5 to 9, Ahmedabad, and Gadre, A.S. *Important Inscriptions from the Baroda State,* Vadodara, 1943

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be in their person, a quality of high order with highest stature as envisaged from the examination of their writing-style. Especially the language of Rudradāman's legend is not only poetic but also flowering. Some of the characteristics of the *Vaidarbhī* style expounded by Daṇḍin in his *Kāvyādarśa* can be visualised in this rock-edict. Thus this epigraph is the earliest specimen of the rhetorical or ornamental SKT prose. Hence, Bühler considers it as *Gadyam-Kāvyam* (prose-poem). The prose style of this second century A.D. inscription is very similar to that of the prose style of the 4th century inscription of Hariṣeṇa. This means the prose-style of Girinagar edict is preceded to that of Hariṣeṇa. This edict is full of long and short *Alaṅkāras*. The abundance of onomatopoeia (*Śabdālaṅkāra*) especially that of *Anuprāsa* (alliteration) *Alaṅkāra,* is noteworthy. Besides the *Upamā, Atiśayokti, Utprekṣā, Parikara* and *Yamaka Alaṅkāras* are also used as *Arthālaṅkāras*. The frequency of long *Samāsa* is also visible in this epigraph. The phrase स्फुट-लघु-मधुर-चित्र-क्रान्त-शब्द-समय-उदार-अलंकृत shows the use of poetic characteristics. Three of these *Mādhurya, Audārya* and *Kānti* - characteristics have been included by Bharata (2.92) and Daṇḍī's (verse 41) ten characteristics. Of these, the first is *Śabdaguṇa* and *Arthaguṇa* while the rest two have only *Arthaguṇa*. In the rest of the characteristics *Sphuṭa* is *Kāvyaguṇa*, while *laghu-* is the manifestation of *Sūtra*-style. *Citra* is used for mean-type of poetry. *Śabda samaya* envisages *Śabdaśailī*. Thus it is inferred that *vaidarbhīśailī* was used in literature as early as second century A.D.

Dated G.E. 138 (457 A.D.) the Skandagupta's epigraph is composed in verse in the *Vaidarbhīśailī* of the Gupta period. This shows that the SKT poems were also written in inscriptions, being the proclamation of the State, proving thereby that the SKT was the *Lingua franca* then.

Thus this rock is unique for the history of our country as it bears side by side inscriptions of three kings of three different dynasties of three different times Aśoka, Rudradāman and Skandgupta. It is also unique in the sense that one can trace perfectly the growth of Brāhmī scripts and SKT language at one and only place i.e. Girinagar[8].

The second and equally important epigraph belongs to the Western Kshatrapa dynasty. It was found from the Devni-Mori *Bauddha Stūpa* situated near very famous *Vaiṣṇava Tīrtha* Shamalaji in Sabarkantha District. This stone-casket inscription's discovery has a landmarking contribution to the growth of not only Buddhist art of our country but also equally significant in the discovery of the stone-casket for three reasons: (1) It offers two points of dispute: Kathika Era and Kathika king. Nowhere in our early political history do

8. See foot note Nos. 1 and 2

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we come across this era and that king. (2) It contains both historical legend in SKT verse and religious text in Pali i.e. *Pratitya-Samutpāda* from *Tripiṭaka.* This is rather the first evidence of epigraphical poem. (3). This is the first historical writing in verse[9].

The impact of PKT is visible in this SKT verse inscription as there is unsystematic style. In this historical-poem, the first verse is that of *Anuṣṭup,* while the 2nd, 3rd, 5th and 6th ones are in *Āryā* metre. The remaining 4th verse is in *Gītī* metre. It seems that the existence of *Praśaṁsā* or *Praśasti* style in *Lalitasāhitya* in the then Gujarat was evident and people were enjoying aesthetic pleasure in *Praśasti-kāvya* (i.e. poem in praise)[10].

Prabhas-Patan stone inscription embodies a remarkable *Praśasti* of Bhava Bṛhaspati and his pious contributions. Dated in the year 850 of the Valabhi Era (1169 A.D.), this inscription's introductory verse, dedicated to Śiva, introduced the subject of the epigraph in a humerous dialogue between Śiva and Pārvatī[11].

Dated in the year 1208 of the V.S. (1152 A.D.) and composed by the eminent and accomplished poet Śrīpāla, the Vaḍanagara epigraph contains 30 verses in various metres and a graphic description of Anandapura (i.e. Vaḍanagara) abounding in various expression of poetic imagery. The poet imagines that this city is designated Anandapura for *Dharma* prevails here with joy[12].

The Abu epigraph of Minister Tejapāla is one of the excellent composition of the Chaulukya period. Dated in the year of the V.S. 1287 (1231 A.D.) and composed by the veteran poet Someśvara, the renowned *Purohita* of the Chaulukya kings and eminent poet patronised by *Mahāmātya Vāstupāla* this inscription comprises of 74 verses in various metres such as *Śārdūlavikrīḍita, Anuṣtup, Vasantatilakā, Mandākrāntā, Śikhariṇī, Sragdharā,* etc. It contains several figures of speech such as *Upamā, Rūpaka, Śleṣa, Vyatireka,* etc. Some verses embody imagery and poetic description[13].

Composed by poet Dharaṇīdhara in V.S. 1343 (A.D. 1287) during the reign of the king Śāraṅgadeva, the Somanath Patan stone inscription gives a long and poetic eulogy of Tripurantaka. Alluding to the demise of king Viśāladeva, the poet expressed the incident in poetic terms[14].

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9. Mehta, R.N., and Chawdhary S.N. *Excavations at Devni Mori,* Vadodara, 1996
10. *Ibid,* 1966 and also footnote No. 8
11. Campbell, *A Collection of Prakrit and Sanskrit Inscriptions,* Bhavnagar State Archaeology Department, p.186
12. *Epigraphic Indica,* Vol. 1, pp.293 ff (henceforth EI)
13. EI. Vol.8, pp.208. ff.; GAL, Vol. 2, Nos. 167 and 215
14. *Ibid,* Vol.1, pp. 271 ff, and *Ibid* Vol. 3, No.222

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The step-well inscription from Dholaka (ancient Dhavalakka or Dhavalamaṇḍapa) is located on the entrance of the *Vāva*. Dated in V.S. 1466 and S.E. 1332 corresponding to 1410 A.D. and written in SKT and consisting of 17 verses and one prose line in the beginning, this record gives the genealogical information of the Hindu officers in the reign of Sultan Muzaffarkhan (Zafarkhan) who were in charge of Dhavalamaṇḍapa. This stepwell was built in the memory of one Ashachanda[15].

A stepwell inscription from village Bhoj in Padra Taluka of Vadodara Zilla, is dated in V.S. 1554, S.E. 1420 corresponding to 1498 A.D. Written in SKT this epigraph has 29 lines inscribed on the marble and located on the eastern wall of the *Vāva* made of bricks and stones. This record and the earlier one throw a good deal of light on the communal harmony prevailed in this area as also how rich persons were doing charitable works with utter enthusiasm for the well-being of the people of the village from *Pūrtakārya* angle. This epigraph also informs that the local Hindu rulers of the Chahmana dynasty, though they were independent, had formally accepted the rule of the Sultanate in the end of the 15th century. This historio-cultural record gives us good information pertaining to political set-up in this district over and above its literary aspects[16].

The SKT record of the time of the Sultan Mahmud, the third, (1536 to 1554) is inscribed on a small rectangular tablet of white marble and preserved in the Archaeological Museum of Dr. Pandya Abhyāsagṛha in Patan. Comprising of twelve lines, this epigraph is dated in the years 1594 of the V.S. and 1459 of the S.E. (A.D. 1538) with the object that Malik Rakunal, the then Governor of Mahmud at Patan, had built a *Dharmaśālā* at the instance of Dariakhana. The adjectives used for Sultan Mahmud are in SKT tradition and hence are unique[17].

It is wellknown that during the Muslim rule in Gujarat the legal documents were written in SKT by non-official agencies and were accepted to the state authorities for the purpose of registration and legal requirements even though the language of the administration was Persian. But just reviewed inscription is all the more remarkable for it comes from the authorities themselves[18].

Clearly written in bilingual *Devanāgarī* script the epigraph from a stepwell at Khadoli village near Jhaghadia in Bharuch Zilla mentions the construction of a *Vāva* by Laduba, the

15. GAL, Vol. 4, Nos. 7 and 20
16. *Ibid*, No. 19-A
17. Shastri, H.G., *Itihāsanā Sādhana Tarike Gujarātnā Abhilekha*, Gujarat Vidhyapith, Ahmedabad 1983
18. JOI, Vol.1 No.2, pp.172-173

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queen of Raya Simhaji (A.D. 1764-1786), the son of Pratapsimhaji, who was a ruler of Rajapipala State. Dated in the year of the V.S. 1838 (A.D. 1782) this record consists of 27 lines of which the first 22 lines form the part of twelve SKT verses and the last 5 lines are written in old Gujarati prose[19].

While digging inside the main gate of Prabhas-Patan in 1953, this memorial stone (*Pāḷio* in Gujarati) inscription came to light. Dated in the year 1451 of the V.S. (1395 A.D.) and comprising of nine lines and written both in SKT and Gujarati, the object of the epigraph is *Godāna* in the memory of one Paramar Rajput Duhu who had met a heroic death during some clashes while he happened to be there for the worship of the Lord Somanātha. According to the wishes of the dying hero, this memorial pillar was erected during the reign of king Shivaraj of the Vaja dynasty of Prabhasa[20].

The historical inscription of the Sultanate period from Mehmadabad is unique, for it gives the authentic date-wise information regarding the development of a town i.e. Mehmadabad from its foundation to prosperity and till its destruction. Dated in the year 1612 of the V.S. and written in SKT, this epigraph tells about as to when this town was founded on the bank of the river Vatraka and by whom, who were responsible in contributing their mite in the development of this town, the longevity there of etc. Thus this town was founded in the year 1522 of the V.S. (i.e. 1465 A.D.) during the rule of Mahmud Begada, who was considered as the emperor Akbar of Gujarat. Engraved on rectangular sandstone the inscription has 16 lines. The uniqueness of this record is that it contains some old Gujarati and Persian words. The beginning and the end are in verse and the remaining legend is in prose. Hardly we come across such an epigraph elsewhere[21].

We must take into account one most important record in SKT of the British rule. It is the inscription on the wall of the Hutheesingh Jain temple of Ahmedabad, which is popularly known as "*Hathisingh nu Dehru*". The construction of this Jain temple was started by one Jain philanthropist Hutheesingh himself but was carried on and completed by his wife Harkumvarbai after the sad demise of her husband Hutheesingh. Built in the year 1903 of the V.S. this record was composed by Paṇḍita of the Bṛhat Kharatar Gacch, written by one Moḍha Brahmin Vijayram and engraved by Salat Isabbhai Rehman, a Muslim. Thus this inscription was a cooperative effort of three followers of three different religions and hence is a very unprecedented unique record. Written in SKT it consists of 34 verses[22].

19. *Bulletin of the Chunilal Gandhi Vidhya Bhavan,* Nos. 8-9 Surat, 1961-62, pp.31-3
20. *Svādhyāya,* Vol.9, No.2, Oriental Institute, Vadodara, 1972, pp.227-231
21. Parikh P.C. and Shelat Bharati, *Gujarātanā Abhilekho: Svādhyāya and Samīkṣā.* Ahmedabad, 1991, No.14
22. *Ibid,* No.19

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The just concluding overview of the SKT epigraphs from Gujarat sheds a good deal of light on various cultural aspects in a miniature way of our national heritage, especially telling perfectly and profusely the contribution of what was once our *Lingua franca*.

This is just a random survey to show that Gujarat is profusely rich in the heritage of epigraphic records in the making of Sanskritic studies and national heritage. Thus this short profile is enough to show how important the Sanskrit language and Sanskrit epigraphs were and how they are responsible for making our national cultural heritage. It seems now that the intensive and extensive survey of SKT records from every nook and corner of our country only will help in understanding the permanent value of the SKT language. This can be done by arousing the awareness of our people in general and by removing the ignorance and sheer negligence of our elite in particular.

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AN INTRODUCTION TO THE KĀYASTHAS

BASUDEVLAL DAS*

In present times the term *Kāyastha* denotes the high class caste among the Hindus in Tarāi of Nepal. This group of people are found in the different provinces of India, Bangladesh and also Nepal[1]. The *Kāyastha* as a caste group is divided into twelve major sub-caste-groups such as (a) Śrīvāstava, (b) Saksenā, (c) Bhaṭanāgara, (d) Māthura, (e) Kulaśreṣṭha, (f) Aṣṭhānā (Ashthānā), (g) Nigama, (h) Gauḍa, (i) Ambaṣṭha, (j) Karaṇa, (k) Vālmīki, and (l) Sūryadhvaja.[2] Besides, the Chandrasenī Prabhu of Maharashtra province of India and the Paṭanalakaraṇa of the South Indian region are also considered as the sub-groups of *Kāyasthas*[3]. The *Kāyasthas* of Bengal are identical as they received the honour of Bhadraloka[4]. The term *Bhadraloka* means "the gentleman or noble person". The term *Bhadra* was used as the courteous form of address in the ancient period[5]. In Nepal they are found both in Tarāi as well as a sub-caste group in the Newar community in the Kathmandu valley.

Generally, the *Kāyasthas* is a caste-group who traditionally engage in the profession of reading and/or writing[6]. The *Brihat Hindi Kosa* (The Hindi Dictionary) defines the term as a Hindu caste working as the scribe[7]. In the Nepali dialect, the word *Kāyastha* is pronounced as *Kāite* which means the caste group with the occupation of reading and writing

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Journal of the Oriental Institute, Vol. 50, Nos. 1-4, Sept.-June 2000-2001 Issue, pp. 205-209.

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1. *Hindī Viśvakośa* (Hindi Encyclopaedia), Nagari Pracharini Sabha, Varanasi, 1975 A.D., *Khaṇḍa* 2, p.532.
2. *Ibid.*
3. *Ibid.*
4. *The Encyclopaedia Americana,* New York, American Corporation, 1963 A.D., Vol.21, p.133b.
5. Chaturvedi Mahendra and Tiwari Bholanath, *A Practical Hindi-English Dictionary,* 20th ed., New Delhi, National Publishing House, 1994 A.D., p.545.
6. *Hindī Viśvakośa.* f.n.No.1, p.532.
7. Prasada Kalika, Sahaya Rajavallabha and Srivastava Mukundilala, *Bṛdhat Hindī Kośa* (Large Hindi Dictionary), 4th ed., Varanasi, Jñānamaṇḍala Limited, 2030 V.S., p.241.

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profession[8]. It is a *Vaiśya* caste which belongs to such a profession[9]. On the other hand, its origin goes back to ancient Greek. Thus, its origin is further linked to the Greek terminology *Scythian*[10]. This word has transformed into the present shape of *Kāyastha* after moderation in the Sanskrit dye[11]. In Sanskrit, the word *Kāyastha* itself is related to the term *Kāyā,* which means the body. It is thus explained as the *Paramātmā* or the Supreme Being, a word with gravity in the Hindu religious literature[12].

Some Indian scholars gave their opinions about the etymology and origin of the term *Kāyastha.* In this context many fictitious etymological conceptions are expressed so far. According to the conception of creation of four *Varṇas* from the four different parts of His body, as narrated in the *Sṛṣṭikhaṇḍa* of the *Padma Purāṇa,* some writers have expressed their opinion that Brahmā created a new one from His *Kāyā* or body. They were the *Kāyasthas.* According to the narration of *Reṇukā Māhātmya* in the *Skanda Purāṇa,* the origin of *Kāyastha* is related to the fables of Paraśurāma, one of the incarnations of Viṣṇu. They are said to be born from a fugitive Kṣatriya queen who was spared by the killing of Brāhmaṇa warriors. The queen also agreed to a Brāhmaṇa sage that the new-born child would give up the profession of his Kṣatriya ancestors[13]. Likewise, some scholars also expressed that the word *Kāyastha* is the developed form of the term *Kāryastha*[14]. However, the word *Kāyastha* is in use right since the ancient times[15].

The word *Kāyastha* was not used before third century A.D. This word was not known at the times of the grammarians Pāṇini and Patañjali, otherwise such a peculiar word would not have been left unnoticed by them[16]. Since their role in the society was highly important, its mention was obvious. Even the *Arthaśāstra* of Kauṭilya and several inscriptions of

8. Sarma Bhattarai Harshanatha (Editor) and Lokamani Dahala (Reviser and Enlarger) : *Praśāsakīya Tathā Kānūnī Śabdakośa* (Administrative and Legal Dictionary), National Research Associates, Kathmandu, 2041 V.S., p.85.
9. *Nepālī Bṛdhat Śabdakośa* (Nepali Large Dictionary), Nepal Rajakiya Prajna Pratisthana, Kathamandu, 2040 V.S., p.200.
10. *Ibid,* p.288.
11. Sāpakoṭā Mahanandā, *Nepālī Śabda Paricaya* (Nepali word Introduction), Birāṭanagara, 2034 V.S., p.84.
12. Chaturvedi Dvaraka Prasada Sarma and Jha Tarinisa (Editors) : *Sanskṛta Śabdārtha Kaustubha* (Sanskrit Words' Meaning), 2nd ed, Allahabad, 1957 A.D., p.315.
13. Datt Nripendra Kumar, *Origin and Growth of Caste in India,* 2 vols, 2nd ed, Calcutta, Firma K.L. Mukhopadhyaya, 1969 A.D., Vol.2, p.45.
14. One who is engaged in working (कार्ये तिष्ठति यः स कार्यस्थः)
15. *Hindī Viśvakośa.* f.n.No.1. p.532.
16. Dutt, *Op.cit.,* f.n.No.13, Vol.2. p.44.

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Emperor Aśoka, which give detailed accounts of the administrative system of the Maurya period, do not notice so far the word *Kāyastha*[17]. In the early Smṛti texts as well as *Manusmṛti,* which was first compiled sometime between 200 B.C. and 200 A.D., the reference of the word *Kāyastha* is not found[18]. Most probably the first mention of the word *Kāyastha* occurs in the *Yājñavalkyasmṛti*[19]. This book was written in the third century A.D. In this book the word *Kāyastha* is used not as a caste. The author of *Amarakoṣa,* the famous lexicon of the fifth century A.D., is entirely silent about the term *Kāyastha*[20].

Basically the term *Kāyastha* refers to a community which is related to the profession of scribe[21]. The profession as such was not regarded to be as important as it is now. In fact, it was not so important when the nature of the state was tribal and feudal. Such a situation remained more or less the same uptil the pre-Vedic age when writing practice was either not known or rarely adopted. But during the reign of Nanda dynasty and later, during the time of Chandragupta Maurya when extensive empire was consolidated, the bureaucracy attained higher level of efficiency. Consequently, the experts in the civil administration became essential[22]. The so-called group of expertise was comprised of the people from different castes. Later on, it emerged as a special caste. Thus *Kāyastha* became a collective noun to denote a group of specialists[23]. According to the inscriptions, the copper-plates and the ancient literature, the word *Kāyastha* was used frequently from the Gupta period and upto the twelfth century A.D. Then it was not used to indicate any special caste rather synonymously used to denote the government workers[24]. According to an inscription of eighth century A.D. found at the place named Kaṇaruvā in the Koṭā district of India, the word *Kāyastha* is the synonym of *Ahalakāra*[25]. The word *Ahalakāra* is of Arabic origin which means a clerk or an official in the court of law or the administration[26].

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17. *Ibid.*
18. *Ibid.*
19. *Yājñavalkyasmṛti,* Hindi commentator : Umesachandra Pandeya, Kasi Sanskrit Granthamala-178, Varanasi, Chaukhamba Sanskrit Series, 1967 A.D., p.150.
20. Dutt, *Op.cit.* f.n.No. 13, Vol.2, p.45.
21. *The Encyclopaedia Britannica,* Chicago, Encyclopaedia Britannica, 15th ed, 1975 A.D., "Micropaedia" Vol.V, p.738.
22. Dutt, *Op.cit.,* f.n.No.13, Vol.2, p.137.
23. Upadhyaya Vasudeva, *Gupta Abhilekha* (Gupta Inscription). Bihar Hindi Grantha Academy, Patana, 1974 A.D., p.287.
24. *Hindī Viśvakoṣa,* f.n.No.1, p.532.
25. Ojha Gaurisankara Hirachanda, *Madhyakālīna Bhāratīya Saṁskṛti,* pp.47-48.
26. Prasada, Sahaya, Srivastava (eds), *Op.cit.,* f.n.No. 7, p.112.

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From the very beginning many abuses in hard language are used for the *Kāyasthas*. In the *Yājñavalkyasmṛti*, where the word is mentioned very first, the *Kāyasthas* were associated with rogues, thieves, robbers and smugglers and it is directed that the king should always protect his subjects from the *Kāyasthas*[27]. This sentiment runs throughout the whole later Smṛtis and Pauranic literature. Kalhaṇa used in his *Rājataraṅgiṇī* even stronger language to describe the cruel, deceitful and perfidious character of the *Kāyasthas*[28]. Certainly, the occupations of a *Kāyastha* whether as a revenue collector or as a registrar of legal documents had something to do with his unpopularity[29].

The above mentioned facts raise a strong suspicion that the early *Kāyasthas* were non-Indian in origin and that it was just before the time of the Imperial Guptas, they obtained a permanent place in the body-politic of India. The two or three centuries immediately preceding the first appearance of *Kāyastha* in the Indian literature, India witnessed a succession of foreign invasions by Greek, Scythian, Parthian and then Kusāṇa kings. The Scythians and the Kusāṇas were steeped in Hellenico-Iranian culture before they finally succumbed to Indian influences. It was at this period of contact between Persia and India that several old Persian words found their way into the Indian language. It is not unlikely that some highly trained revenue officials from Persia and Hellenic lands might have been employed by the Indo-Parthian and Kusāṇa rulers to administer Indian territories. So, these high officials may have been known to the common people as Kāyathiyas, which means the rulers in old Persian. The term was soon adopted to the Indian tongue and later turned into *Kāyastha*[30].

How quickly these foreigners were Indianized is proved from the names of the later Kusāṇa and Śaka rulers. The Chronicles of Shri Lanka mention Dharmarakṣita, the Greek, who was sent by Emperor Aśoka as a Buddhist missionary to Aparāntaka in Western India. Likewise, Heliodorus, a Greek, was a devout follower of Viṣṇu who set-up a Garuḍa pillar in about 140 B.C. When the cultured Greeks and Persians were Indianized, the princes and soliders were merged into the Kṣatriya community. Likewise, those who remained in the civil service became *Kāyasthas*. The civil servants in the Aśoka's government were known as Rājukas, Purushas and Yuktas, but it is not known whether they formed any community

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27. *Yājñavalkyasmṛti*. f.n.No. 19. p.150. (*Ācārādhyāya, Rājadharma Prakaraṇa*)
    श्लोकः- चाटतस्करदुर्वृत्तमहासाहसिकादिभिः ।
    पीड्यमानाः प्रजा रक्षेत्कायस्थैश्च विशेषतः ॥ ३३६ ॥
28. Kalhaṇa, *Rājataraṅgiṇī*, 4:90; 4:629; 8:131.
29. Dutt, *Op.cit.* f.n. No.13, Vol.2, p.46.
30. *Ibid.*, p.47.

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of their own or not. The existence of a *Kāyastha* clan called Saksenā lends colour to the suspicion of foreign elements in the *Kāyastha* community. Recruitment from all classes, particularly from Brāhmaṇa and Kṣatriya castes swelled the number of *Kāyastha* officers to meet the growing demands in all parts of Northern and Western India and the group which was at first functional became gradually solidified into a caste[31].

This caste, however, was recruited from diverse sources at different times and in different parts of India. Consequently it was never a homogeneous group. Therefore, it is understood that though the *Kāyasthas* did not originate in one place but migrated to other directions[32].

31. *Ibid.*, p.48.
32. *Ibid.*, p.49.

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POETICIANS' USE OF *TARKA* : SOME OBSERVATIONS

SWETA PRAJAPATI*

I. Introduction

Some of the texts of Sanskrit Poetics written in dialectical style with a particular aim of proving one's own position and repudiating the views of the opponents, in post - Ānandavardhana period are extremely difficult and therefore they are not properly intelligible. They create unusual pain as well as frustration while trying to understand the matter of the texts and to evaluate the viewpoints of their authors. All those authors have given rise to a new trend of composing critical texts in the field of Sanskrit literary criticism. In my opinion, they are like the authors of the *kliṣṭakāvyas* in Sanskrit. Nevertheless all those works are valuable because they contain the gems of literary thoughts in the cover of hair-splitting discussions and bring to surface some of the facets of our sophisticated intellectual culture. Being dominated by the arguments and counter-arguments in the form of *pūrvapakṣa* and *uttarapakṣa* they possess their identity and distinctly differ from the works of the earlier poeticians. In these works we find an excessive use of technical terms, a new style, a formal language-structure and even dialectical methods which are typically used by logicians of modern period. One of such methods that plays a major role in the dialectical presentation of the poetic concepts is *Tarka.* While reading some prominent texts of Sanskrit Poetics like the *Vṛttivārttikam* of Appaya Dīkṣita, the *Rasagaṅgādhara* of Jagannātha, the *Alaṅkārarāghava* of Yajñeśvara Dīkṣita, the *Rasapradīpa* of Prabhākarabhaṭṭa, the *Kāvyaprakāśakhaṇḍana* of Siddhicandra Gaṇi etc. to name a few, the question arises: Why do these Poeticians like the logicians of Navya-Nyāya make an extreme use of *Tarka* and what kind of benefit they get out of its employment ?

The present paper makes an investigation in this direction in a limited sphere and attempts to examine the merits and demerits of the use of *Tarka* that we avail in the texts of Sanskrit Poetics.

II. Concept of *Tarka*

First of all, it is necessary to explain in brief the concept of *Tarka,* because, it is a

Journal of the Oriental Institute, Vol. 50, Nos. 1-4, Sept.-June 2000-2001 Issue, pp. 211-222.

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technical and logical term and also contains some confusing connotations. It is an important term in Indian Logic. It has been defined and explained by almost all the philosophical schools, mainly the Nyāya School. Even the authors of Jaina and Buddhist logic and the Dvaita - Vedāntists like Jayāditya et. al. have tried to explain this term in their own ways. However, all of them have felt the importance of *Tarka* for protecting their viewpoints and rejecting the arguments of others, which weaken their views. The term, therefore, has got many meanings. Naturally therefore many definitions and discussions have been made with regard to its conceptual changes, the role it plays in the process of logical arguments, the conditions where it should be used and its various types. *Tarka* has been rendered as 'argumentation', 'reasoning', 'hypothetical reasoning', '*reductio ad absurdum*', 'confutation' etc. It is mainly accepted as an important method for the role it plays in the process of logical arguments which are made for arriving at truth. Thus it becomes unavoidable for examining the validity of the statements. Naiyāyikas especially Navya Naiyāyikas beginning from Udayanācārya (984 A.D.) have used this method profusely for refuting the views of their opponents and proving the validity of their own views.

In Gautama's opinion *Tarka* is one of the sixteen *padārthas*. He defines it as :

Avijñātatattve 'rthe kāraṇopapattitastattvajñānārthamūhaḥ tarkaḥ ।

(*Nyāyasūtra* 1.1.40)

According to him, it is a form of deliberation (*ūha*) which is made for determining the specific nature of an unknown object by pointing out the real grounds for it. So it functions as an accessory to *pramāṇa*, the means of knowledge. In some cases the means of knowledge does not achieve its expected goal without the help of *Tarka*. Naturally therefore *Tarka* is accepted as an instrument of *vāda*[1].

However, it is true that *Tarka* by itself does not establish anything by pointing to the real grounds. Vātsyāyana and Vācaspati make it clear that *Tarka* itself does not produce any valid knowledge, but it surely enhances the efficacy of the *pramāṇa* by way of dispelling the possibility of doubt and helping in that way to have unfettered efficacy in ascertaining the true nature of an object. It is therefore said that *Tarka* along with the four *pramāṇas* helps in establishing one's own thesis and refuting that of the opponent in a debate (*vāda*). Varadarāja, the author of the *Tārkikarakṣā*, defines *Tarka* as *aniṣṭaprasaṅga*, literally a form of argument which imposes on the opponent an admission of 'the illogical' (*aniṣṭa*)[2].

1. प्रमाणतर्कसाधनोपालम्भः सिद्धान्ताविरुद्धः पञ्चावयवोपपन्नः पक्षप्रतिपक्षकथा वादः । *Nyāyasūtra*, 1.2.1

2. तर्कोऽनिष्टप्रसङ्गः स्यादनिष्टं द्विविधं मतम् ।
प्रामाणिकपरित्यागस्तथेतरपरिग्रहः ॥ ७० ॥
Dwivedi, Vindhyeshvari Prasad (Ed.), *Tārkikarakṣā of Varadarāja*, Varanasi, 1903, p.185.

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Vātsyāyana endorses Gautama's view and states that when two contradictory alternatives seem to be equally possible with regard to a particular point of inquiry and the mind oscillates between the two, there comes *Tarka* in support of either of the two and helps to resolve the indecisiveness. Thus it is not a *pramāṇa* but an aid to it[3]. Uddyotakara makes the point more clear as to why *Tarka* is not regarded as an independent means of knowledge and how it helps to determine between two near equal alternatives on the basis of the superior strength of the two[4]. According to Vācaspatimiśra, the method of *Tarka* helps to prove how one of the alternatives is logically impossible and the remaining one is logically possible[5].

Jayantabhaṭṭa in his *Nyāyamañjarī* clarifies that *Tarka* favors only one of the alternatives but at the same time it does not leave the other alternative unexamined[6]. In this way the Naiyāyikas have explained the role of *Tarka* that it plays in the generation of knowledge, refutation of irrational viewpoints and development of logical viewpoints being supported by *pramāṇa* - the main instrument of knowledge. The Naiyāyikas have not only explained the conditions where the *Tarka* is to be resorted but they have given the clear-cut directions also for its proper use. Following is an instance:

When somebody sees smoke on the mountain and desires to prove the presence of fire on the basis of it, he argues that *parvato vahnimān dhūmavattvāt, yatra yatra dhūmaḥ tatra tatra vahniḥ.* If the opponent demurs to the invariable concomitance existing between smoke and fire, he will say - *dhūmo'stu vahnirmāstu* (let there be smoke but not fire). This will lead to the occasion for using *Tarka.* One may deliberately suppose *vahnyabhāva,* which is *vyāpya* (less extensive) and thereby force on him *dhūmābhāva,* which is *vyāpaka* (more extensive) by saying that *yadi atra vahnirna syāt tarhi dhūmo'pi na syāt.* But, the presence of smoke is directly perceived. The opponent is thus reduced to the position of either pointing out an instance where there is smoke but not fire, or of admitting that his assertion- *vahnirmāstu*- is wrong. When no such instance can be found, he has to admit the falsity of

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3. सोऽयमित्थम्भूतस्तर्कः प्रमाणसहितो वादे साधनायोपालम्भाय चाऽर्थस्य भवतीत्येवमर्थं पृथगुच्यते प्रमेयान्तर्भूतोऽपीति । *Nyāyabhāṣya* on 1.1.1; Tarkatirtha Taranatha (Ed.), *Nyāyadarśanam* with *Bhāṣya, Vārttika, Tātparyaṭīkā* and *Vṛtti,* Munshiram Manoharlal Publishers Pvt. Ltd., II Edition, 1985, p.55.
4. सामर्थ्यमाश्रित्यार्थग्रहणं प्रतिषिध्यते तदेवं युक्तमूहस्तर्क इति, सामर्थ्यतः शेषं गम्यत इति, तस्मादर्थग्रहणं ज्ञातृनिराकरणार्थमिति । *Nyāyavārttika,* 1.1.4., *Ibid,* p.324.
5. तर्केण हि प्रसङ्गापरनाम्ना द्वयोः पक्षयोरेकतरनिषेधेनैकतरः प्रमाणविषयताऽभ्यनुज्ञातव्य इति विषयप्रत्यासत्त्या तर्कप्रवृत्तिं प्रत्यङ्गता संशयस्येति । *Nyāyavārttikatātparyaṭīkā* on 1.1.4, *Ibid,* p.325.
6. तर्कस्त्वेकतरं पक्षं विभात्युत्थापयन्निव । Shukla, Suryanarayan (Ed.), *Nyāyamañjarī of Jayantabhaṭṭa,* Chawkhamba Sanskrit Series, Varanasi, 1936, p.261.

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his contention- *vahnirmāstu* and has to accept also the presence of fire in the mountain.

Tarka is, therefore, defined as *vyāpyāropeṇa vyāpakāropaḥ* by Annam Bhaṭṭa, which is nothing but a concise form of the definition given by Viśvanātha Nyāyapañcānana[7]. The *Saptapadārthī* defines *Tarka* as *aniṣṭavyāpakaprasañjanam tarkaḥ*[8].

The Jain logicians regard *Tarka* as an independent *pramāṇa* especially meant to determine the *vyāpti* in an inference. Among the Jaina logicians we find Umāsvāti using the word *ūha* and *Tarka* as synonyms of *īhā* (urge to know, a sub-division of *mati-jñāna*). Akalaṅka was perhaps the first to lay down explicitly the nature and object etc. of *Tarka*[9].

However, the Poeticians have used the term *Tarka* and *Vitarka* in altogether different sense. *Tarka* for them is a *vyabhicāribhāva*. Veṇīdatta in his *Rasakaustubha* takes *Tarka* as one of the 33 *vyabhicāribhāvas: trāsaścaiva vitarkaśca vijñeyā vyabhicāriṇaḥ*[10]. He defines it as : *vikalpastarka ucyate*[11]. Bhānudatta also counts *Tarka* among 33 *vyabhicāribhāvas* in his *Rasataraṅgiṇī* and defines it as *vicāro vitarkaḥ*[12]. He enumerates four varieties of it : *vicārātmā, saṁśayātmā, anadhyavasāyātmā* and *vipratipattyātmā*. Dhanañjaya, Viśvanātha and Śāradātanaya also consider *vitarka* as a *vyabhicāribhāva*. Bhānudatta follows Śāraṅgadhara and enumerates *vipratipatti, saṁśaya, pramāṇa* etc. as *vibhāvas* of *Vitarka*. However, Bhoja unlike other Poeticians treats *vitarka* as an *alaṅkāra* in his *Śṛṅgāraprakāśa* and defines it as *sandehanirṇayāntarālavartyūho vitarkaḥ*[13]. It is of two types : *nirṇayānta* and *anirṇayānta*. The former one is having three types - *tattvānupāti, atattvānupāti* and *ubhayātmaka* and the latter one is also of three types - *mithyārūpa, amithyārūpa* and *ubhayātmaka*. Thus in a literary composition when an argument takes a poetic form and becomes the part of the process of delineation of *rasa* is called *Tarka*.

III. Types of *Tarka*

Keeping in view the logical necessity of *Tarka*, the logicians have made rigorous

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7. व्यापकाभाववत्त्वेन निर्णीते व्याप्यस्याहार्यारोपाद् यो व्यापकस्याऽऽहार्यारोपः स तर्कः । Viśvanātha's *Vṛtti* on 1.1.40, p.322.
8. Ghate, V.S. (Ed.), *Saptapadārthī of Śivāditya*, Nirnaya Sagara Press, Bombay, 1909, p.49
9. Solomon, E.A., *Indian Dialectics*, Vol.I., B.J. Institute of Learning & Research, Ahmedabad, 1976, p.481.
10. Avasthi, Brahmamitra (Ed.), *Rasakaustubha of Veṇīdatta*, Indu Prakashan, Delhi, 1978, p.87.
11. *Ibid.*, p.102.
12. Sharma, Urmil (Ed.), *Rasataraṅgiṇī of Bhānudatta*, Parimal Publications, Delhi, 1988, Chap. V, pp.42, 67.
13. Josyer, G.R. (Ed.), *Bhoja's Śṛṅgāraprakāśa*, Mysore, 1963, Vol.II, Chap. X, p.402.

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exercise in developing its different types. Ancient Naiyāyikas admit eleven types of *Tarka*[14]. Viśvanātha refers to five types of *Tarka* only viz., *ātmāśraya, anyonyāśraya, cakraka, anavasthā* and *pramāṇabādhitārthaprasaṅga (aniṣṭaprasaṅga or tadanyabādhitārtha)*[15]. Since they are technical, they need an explanation :

1. *Ātmāśraya* (self-dependence) is an argument, which is self-dependent in respect of genesis, subsistence and cognition. For instance: A is the cause of A. Here A must be different from itself, because the cause should be different from the effect.

2. *Anyonyāśraya* or *itaretarāśraya* (reciprocal dependence) is a mutually dependent argument. In the instance, A depends on B, B depends upon A, actually A cannot depend upon B, since, to say that B depends upon A, is virtually to deny that A depends upon B.

3. *Cakraka* (cyclical dependence) is the reasoning in a circular way. If A requires B, B requires C and C requires A, the argument is a case of circular reasoning.

4. *Anavasthā* (infinite regress) is the *regressus ad infinitum.* If we explain A by B, B by C, C by D and so on, it is a case of *anavasthā* since we do not actually explain anything but simply our explanation shapes itself into the form of infinite regression.

5. *Tadanyabādhitārthaprasaṅga* (acceptance of illogical position) is the *reductio ad absurdum.* It indirectly proves the validity of an argument by showing the invalidity of other position. This may be done by opposing the contradiction of the conclusion by means of some fact or by applying some universal law. If, its contradictory be false, the original conclusion must be true and should be based on a valid reasoning.

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14. Solomon, E.A., *op.cit.*, p. 484.

15. स चायं पञ्चविधः, आत्माश्रयान्योन्याश्रयचक्रकानवस्थातदन्यबाधितार्थप्रसङ्गभेदात्। स्वस्य स्वापेक्षित्वेऽनिष्टप्रसङ्ग आत्माश्रयः, स चोत्पत्ति-स्थिति-ज्ञप्तिद्वारा त्रेधा। यथा - यद्ययं घट एतद्घटजन्यः स्यात् तदा एतद्घटानधिकरणक्षणोत्तरवर्ती न स्यात्; यद्ययं घट एतद्घटवृत्तिः स्यात् एतद्घटव्याप्यो न स्यात्; यद्ययं घट एतद्घटज्ञानाभिन्नः स्यात् ज्ञानसामग्रीजन्यः स्यात्, एतद्घटभिन्नः स्यादिति वा सर्वत्रापाद्यम्। तदपेक्षापेक्षित्वनिबन्धनोऽनिष्टप्रसङ्गोऽन्योन्याश्रयः। सोऽपि पूर्ववत् त्रेधा। तदपेक्षापेक्षापेक्षित्वनिबन्धनोऽनिष्टप्रसङ्गश्चक्रकम्। चतुःकक्षादावपि स्वस्य स्वापेक्षापेक्षापेक्षित्वसत्त्वात् नाधिक्यम्। अस्यापि पूर्ववत् त्रैविध्यम्। अव्यवस्थितपरम्परारोपाधीनानिष्टप्रसङ्गोऽनवस्था। यथा - यदि घटत्वं घटजन्यत्वव्याप्यं स्यात् कपालसमवेतत्वव्याप्यं न स्यात्। तदन्यबाधितार्थप्रसङ्गस्तु - धूमो यदि वह्निव्यभिचारी स्याद् वह्निजन्यो न स्यादित्यादिः।
Viśvanātha's *Vṛtti* on 1.1.40, pp.325-326.

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Some logicians accept some other types of *Tarka*[16] such as *prathamopasthita* (initial presentation), *utsarga* (general rule), *vinigamanāviraha* (absence of decisive proof)[17], *lāghava* (brevity) and *gaurava* (complexity).

IV. *Tarka* in Sanskrit Poetics

Not entering into the details of the discussions that have been made with reference to the term *Tarka* in Navya-Nyāya literature, I now concentrate on the Poeticians' employment of it in the works of poetics. Out of the above stated five types of *Tarka* Poeticians have mainly used first three types in their poetic works. The Ālaṅkārikas of Navya-Nyāya period have employed some of the above mentioned varieties of *Tarka* in their poetic texts especially to point out the logical defects in the propositions of opponents. The Poeticians like Mahimabhaṭṭa, Appaya Dīkṣita, Prabhākarabhaṭṭa, Siddhicandra Gaṇi, Jagannātha Paṇḍita, Devaśaṅkara Purohita, Viśveśvara Paṇḍita, Yajñeśvara Dīkṣita et al. have made profuse use of *Tarka* in their works. Even the early rhetoricians like Ānandavardhana and Kuntaka have also used *Tarka* but not in the manner the Navya Poeticians have employed it. Let us see some of the examples from the texts of Sanskrit Poetics:

First, we will deal with the use of *Tarka* as found in the *Vyaktiviveka* of Mahimabhaṭṭa (1050-1100 A.D.) :

दत्तानन्दाः प्रजानां समुचितसमयाक्लिष्टसृष्टैः पयोभिः
पूर्वाह्णो विप्रकीर्णा दिशि दिशि विरमत्यह्नि संहारभाजः ।
दीप्तांशोर्दीर्घदुःखप्रभवभवभयोदन्वदुत्तारनावो
गावो वः पावनानां परमपरिमितां प्रीतिमुत्पादयन्तु ॥[18]

In the above given verse, the word *gau* has more than one meaning. There is no reason to choose one meaning and to reject others. Does it convey *viśeṣya* or *viśeṣaṇa* or both ? If the word *gau* is *viśeṣyavācaka* and its manifoldness is accepted as the cause of its being *viśeṣya,* then, it will give rise to *anyonyāśrayadoṣa*. For, manifoldness of meaning will depend on the noun *gau* and the *gau* on the manifoldness of meaning[19].

16. Solomon, E.A., *op.cit.*, p.483.
17. For the treatment of *Vinigamanāviraha* in Sanskrit Poetics *Vide,* Prajapati, Sweta, *Influence of Nyāya Philosophy on Sanskrit Poetics,* Paramamitra Prakashan, Delhi, 1998, p.190.
18. Dwivedi, Revaprasad (Ed.), *Vyaktiviveka of Mahimabhaṭṭa,* Chowkhamba Sanskrit Series, Varanasi, 1964, Chap. III, p.478.
19. अथ विशेषणजातमेव नियमहेतुर्नापरः, तद्धि यदर्थानुगुणमुपलभ्यते तत्रैव प्रतीतिमुपजनयतीति उच्यते । तर्हि ततोऽपि सा तदनुगुणार्थावगतिर्निर्निबन्धना तद्वदेवाकस्मिकी कथमिवोत्पद्येत ? विशेष्यवाचिनोऽनेकार्थस्य तु तन्निबन्धनभावोपगमे अन्योन्याश्रयदोषः । *Ibid,* pp.478-479.

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Appaya Dīkṣita (1520-1562 A.D.) in the *Vṛttivārttikam* discusses the problem of *niyāmakas* of *abhidhā*. In this context he examines the views of earlier poeticians like Mammaṭa and takes up the controversial sentence *rāmārjunau* for discussion. He puts forward his arguments as follows :

यत्तु रामार्जुनपदयोर्वध्यघातकभावविरोधाद् भार्गवकार्त्तवीर्ययोरभिधा नियम्यते इत्युदाहरणम्, तत्र 'राम'पदस्य भार्गवेऽभिधानियमने सति तद्विरोधप्रतिसन्धानेन 'अर्जुन'पदस्य कार्त्तवीर्येऽभिधानियमनम्, तस्मिंश्च सति तद्विरोधप्रतिसन्धानेन 'राम'पदस्येति परस्पराश्रयापत्तेः ।[20]

In the sentence *rāmārjunau* what is the meaning of Rāma and Arjuna ? Here the word 'Rāma' cannot mean *daśarathaputra* because the word 'Arjuna' which is associated with it, does not allow that meaning. Similarly the word 'Arjuna' cannot mean *pāṇḍuputra* because the word 'Rāma' does the same. On the strength of *vadhyaghātakabhāvavirodha* Rāmārjunau means Paraśurāma and Sahasrārjuna. But Appaya argues that since both the words are depending on each other for expressing their unusual meanings excluding the common meanings like *daśarathaputra* and *pāṇḍuputra,* the fault *anyonyāśraya* will take place. He gives the example of *rāmarāvaṇayoḥ,* where the word 'Rāma' means *daśarathaputra* and 'Rāvaṇa' means the demon, the king of Laṅkā. The knowledge of *virodha* arises in this sentence due to *vadhyaghātakabhāva.* On the basis of that *virodha,* the denotative meaning of the word 'Rāma' which has many meanings, is restricted to *daśarathaputra* only. The meaning of the word 'Rāvaṇa' does not depend on the meaning of 'Rāma'. But in case of *rāmārjunau* both the words have manifold meanings and a particular meaning can be obtained only by inter-dependence. However, the argument of Appaya seems confusing. I wonder how *anyonyāśrayadoṣa* can take place in the above stated example, where the dependence is a helping factor in getting the correct meaning. I will take up the issue in a separate paper.

Prabhākarabhaṭṭa (1564 A.D.), the author of the *Rasapradīpa* uses the method of *Tarka* not only for the refutation of opponents' views but also for the logical establishment of his own thesis. After examining critically the definition of *kāvya* given by Mammaṭa, he gives his own definition as :

camatkāraviśeṣakāritvam sukhaviśeṣakāritvam vā kāvyalakṣaṇam[21] ।

Here he explains that his definition is free from the faults like *itaretarāśraya / anyonyāśraya* and *cakraka.* We cite an example of *cakraka* from his work:

20. Avasthi, Brahmamitra (Ed.), *Vṛttivārttika of Appaya Dīkṣita,* Indu Prakashan, Delhi, 1977, pp.36-37.

21. Khiste, Narayan Sastri (Ed.), *Rasapradīpaḥ of Prabhākarabhaṭṭa,* Sarasvati Bhavan Texts, Vol.12, Benaras, 1925, p.8.

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ननु चैवमपि चक्रकापत्तिः । लोके विभावत्वाद्यनङ्गीकारात् । विभावत्वादेरपि काव्यत्वाधीनत्वात् तद्ग्रहे विभावत्वादिग्रहस्तद्ग्रहे च विभावादिमत्त्वपुरस्कारेण सुखादिविशेषकारित्वग्रहः, तस्मिंश्च सति लक्षणग्रह इति चेन्न । अप्रमत्तो निशामय । सगुणत्वादिपुरस्कारेणैव तद्ग्रहसम्भवाद्विभावादिमत्त्वपुरस्कारेणैव लक्षणग्रहे न चक्रकापत्तिः ।[22]

There is no scope for *cakraka* because in human world people do not accept *vibhāva* (ensuents). One cannot argue as follows: If somebody wants to know what *kāvya* is, how can he get the knowledge of *kāvya* ? Since *vibhāva* etc. are depending on *kāvya*, first one has to know about *kāvya*, then only he can know about *vibhāvas*. After knowing about the *vibhāvas* he will know about the special causes of pleasure. Then he can know about the definition of *kāvya*. Thus the fault *cakraka* will arise. But this is not correct. Because one can know about *kāvya* preceded by the knowledge of special causes of happiness which are nothing but *vibhāva, guṇa, alaṅkāra* etc.

It may be further explained that *kāvya* is nothing but a composite structure of the elements like *vibhāva, rasa, dhvani, guṇa, alaṅkāra* etc. So *kāvya* is *avayavi* (whole) and *vibhāva* etc. are its *avayavas* (parts). If one wants to know about whole, for example, a body, he has to know about all the parts like eye, ear, hand, leg etc. But it should be kept in mind that the knowledge of eye is not depending on the knowledge of ear and the knowledge of ear is not depending on some other limb. The knowledge of various parts collectively leads to the knowledge of whole. It is true that unless and until one clearly knows about all the parts he cannot know about the whole. Similar is the case of *kāvya*. So one cannot find fault with the definition of *kāvya* on this ground.

What the author means by this is that one can have the knowledge of *kāvya* if he acquires the knowledge of its causal factors like *guṇa, alaṅkāra, vibhāva* etc., which compositely form the *kāvya*. Since *kāvya* is not an independent entity being different from all these causal factors, the knowledge of *kāvya* depends upon the knowledge of its causal factors. The knowledge of these causal factors automatically leads to the knowledge of *kāvya*. Thus there is neither any scope for *itaretarāśraya* nor for *cakraka*.

Prabhākarabhaṭṭa's use of *Tarka* for constructive purpose is worth appreciating. He does not use it to highlight logical faults in his opponent's position but logically justifies his definition as a perfect one.

Siddhicandra Gaṇi (1587-1658 A.D.) in the 7th *ullāsa* of his *Kāvyaprakāśakhaṇḍana*, points out *ātmāśraya* and *anyonyāśrayadoṣa* in the definition of poetic blemish given by Mammaṭa. He advances his arguments as follows :

22. *Ibid*, p.10.

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रूपान्तरविरहेण दोषाभावगुणालङ्काराणामेव रसव्यञ्जकतावच्छेदकतया दोषानुप्रवेशे आत्माश्रयापत्तेरिति वाच्यम् । यतो दोषाभावस्य रसव्यञ्जकतावच्छेदकरूपस्य रूपान्तरेण रसव्यञ्जकतावच्छेदकरूपेण प्रवेशोऽत्र कृतः न तु दोषाभावत्वेन । क्वान्योऽन्याश्रयप्रसङ्गः ।[23]

Appaya Dīkṣita defines *Abhidhā* as *Śaktyā pratipādakatvam abhidhā.* Jagannātha (1595-1650 A.D.) refutes this definition by pointing out two faults, i.e. *asaṅgati* and *ātmāśraya* in this definition :

अथ प्रतिपादकत्वं प्रतिपत्त्यनुकूलव्यापाररूपं ज्ञातं सदेवोपयुज्यते प्रतिपत्तौ, इत्युच्येत, एवमपि शक्त्येत्यनेन शब्दगतार्थगता वा काचिच्छक्तिः प्रतिपत्तिहेतुतया विवक्षिता । सैवाभिधेति 'अभिधया प्रतिपादकत्वमभिधा' इति लक्षणं पर्यवसन्नम् । तथा च स्फुटैवासंगतिरात्माश्रयश्च ।[24]

Here the fault *asaṅgati* arises because in this definition *pratipādaka* is *śabda* and *pratipādakatva* will remain in *śabda* only. Here *pratipādakatvam* means *pratipatteḥ (jñānasya) hetutvam.* So *śabda* is the *hetu* of knowledge. *Hetutva* will remain in *śabda* only and the knowledge of *hetutva* will be understood by *saṅketa* i.e. *asmāt padādayamartho boddhavyaḥ.* So, from this point of view the definition of Appaya cannot give the meaning which he wants to convey. How can it give the meaning of *abhidhā* which is a *śabdavyāpāra* ? Thus it leads to *asaṅgatidoṣa.*

Further, Appaya defines *abhidhā* as *śakti.* Both the terms indicate the *vyāpāra* of *śabda.* Here the term *abhidhā* itself is used to explain *abhidhā.* So the definition is self-dependent. It leads to *Ātmāśraya.* Thus here we can see how tactfully Jagannātha applies two types of Tarka viz. *asaṅgati* and *ātmāśraya* to refute the definition of Appaya Dīkṣita.

In the context of discussing the need of *lakṣaṇā* for the knowledge of *Rūpaka,* Jagannātha points out the defect called *anyonyāśraya* in the following example of *Śliṣṭaparamparitarūpaka :*

विद्वन्मानसहंस वैरिकमलासंकोचशीतद्युते
दुर्गामार्गणनीललोहित समित्स्वीकारवैश्वानर ।
सत्यप्रीतिविधानदक्ष विजयप्राग्भारभीम प्रभो
साम्राज्यं वरवीर वत्सरशतं वैरिश्चमुच्चैः क्रियाः ॥[25]

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23. Parikh, R.C. (Ed.), *Kāvyaprakāśakhaṇḍana of Siddhicandra Gaṇi,* Singhi Jaina Granthamala No.40, Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, Bombay, 1953, p.33.
24. Pandit Durgaprasad & Vasudev Laxman Shastri (Ed.), *The Rasagaṅgādhara of Jagannātha Paṇḍita,* (with the commentary of Nāgeśa Bhaṭṭa), Kavyamala No.12, Third Revised Edition, Bombay, 1916, p.141.
25. *Ibid,* p.151.

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In this case if we accept *lakṣaṇā* then only the *sādṛśya* between *haṁsa* and the king (*haṁsasadṛśo rājā*) is understood from the word which contains *śleṣa* and if such *sādṛśya* is accepted, then only the *rūpaka* in the form of *rājahaṁsa* which is based on *sādṛśyamūlaka lakṣyārtha* is understood. Hence here occurs *anyonyāśraya* for, when somebody thinks of *śleṣa* then he will have the idea of *rūpaka* and when there is knowledge of *rūpaka* there can be the realisation of *śleṣa*. So it is *anyonyāśraya*[26]. What Jagannātha suggests is that it is better to accept *abhedānvaya*.

In the *Alaṅkārarāghava* of Yajñeśvara Dīkṣita (c.1635 A.D.) profuse use of *Tarka* is observed. Few examples are given below :

1. While examining the definition of *Kāvya* i.e. *adoṣau saguṇau sālaṁkārau śabdārthau kāvyam* given by Vidyānātha, Yajñeśvara finds *anyonyāśrayadośa* and says :

   नापि विद्यानाथलक्षणं युक्तम् । अनलङ्कृतिकाव्ये अव्याप्तेः । 'काव्यापकर्षहेतुः दोषः' इति तन्मते दोषनिर्वचनात् । दोषज्ञाने काव्यज्ञानं, काव्यज्ञाने दोषज्ञानम् इत्यन्योन्याश्रयच्च ।[27]

2. Similarly again at the time of examining the definition of *abhidhā* given by Vidyānātha he contends *śaktirabhidheti paryāyāt ātmāśrayaprasaṅgāt.*[28]

3. He applies the similar *Tarka* while refuting Vidyādhara's definition of *vyañjanā* and says *vyañjanāviṣayo vyaṅgya iti ātmāśrayāpatteḥ*[29].

In the definition of *Rasa* given by Vidyādhara i.e. *vibhāvānubhāvasāttvikavyabhicārisāmagrīsamullāsitaḥ sthāyibhāvo rasaḥ*, Yajñeśvara says that the use of the word *sāmagrī* is useless. He therefore argues :

ननु मास्तु सामग्रीपदम् । न च रसाभासेऽतिव्याप्तिः । तद्व्यतिरिक्तत्वे सति इति विशेषणादिति चेन्न । आरोपितरसो वा बाधितरसो वा रसाभास इत्यङ्गीकारात् रसज्ञाने तदाभासज्ञानं तज्ज्ञाने च रसज्ञानमित्यन्योन्याश्रयप्रसङ्गात् ।[30]

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26. किं च 'विद्वन्मानसहंस' - इत्यादौ श्लिष्टपरम्परितरूपके श्लेषनिष्पत्तौ श्लेषभित्तिकाभेदाध्यवसानेन मानसवासित्वरूपे भूपहंसयोः सादृश्ये सिद्धे सदृशलक्षणामूलस्य भूपे हंसरूपकस्य सिद्धिः । तस्यां च सत्यां सरोमनोरूपार्थद्वयाभिधानलक्षणस्य श्लेषस्य निष्पत्तिरिति परस्पराश्रयः । *Ibid.*
27. Sathyanarayan, T.V. (Ed.), *Alaṅkārarāghava of Yajñeśvara Dīkṣita,* Part I, Oriental Research Institute, Mysore, 1997, p.51.
28. *Ibid,* p.64.
29. *Ibid,* p.87.
30. *Ibid.*, p.159.

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Furthermore the Sanskrit literary critics have also used abundantly the terms like *vyabhicāra, avyāpti, ativyāpti, asaṁbhava* etc. which are the logical faults to be avoided. An argument cannot be acceptable if it suffers from any one of the above given faults. Here it is pertinent to note that when Vātsyāyana says that *Tarka* is *pañcavidha*, he does not mean thereby the types of *Tarka*. He hints at the five logical faults that are necessary conditions for *kutarka*. Even the ancient logicians have used the term *Tarka* for those logical faults which are to be kept in mind while a good logician proceeds for making some arguments where the intention is purely intellectual with an aim of exploring the nature of truth.

V. Conclusion

In the light of the above presentation, I now conclude this paper with the following observations :

1. Some of the Poeticians have brought conceptual and theoretical clarity by using *Tarka* as a dialectical method.
2. Being inclined to emulation the Poeticians have protected their own tenets by the use of *Tarka* and tried to close all the possible doors of their logical fort so that no opponent can get a chance to find fault with their viewpoints.
3. The Poeticians have prepared such dialectical texts, which give details and the subtle nuances of the definitions and some concepts of *Alaṅkāraśāstra*.
4. They have given a new status to Sanskrit Poetics and tried to set up a scientific methodology aiming at logical subtlety and perfection, which was not found in the ancient works of *Alaṅkāraśāstra*.
5. They have led the process of logical presentation and exercised heavily on the precise nature of definitions.
6. But, along with the merits, the demerits cannot be overlooked. Because of the extreme use of *Tarka*- method, their works have become so difficult to understand that one can hardly find a reader who is naturally attracted to touch their texts. That is why even today a student or a researcher feels like reading the texts of the former Poeticians like Bhāmaha, Daṇḍin, Ānandavardhana, Mammaṭa, Viśvanātha and others who have given the texts to us by explaining the principles of Poetics in easy language free from verbal jargon. Their works will definitely attract the readers in all the years to come.
7. Some Navya Poeticians under the craze of using Nyāya language and methodology have concentrated more on irrelevant things and overlooked the relevant ones.

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8. Because of the profuse employment of the technical terms, sophisticated language and logical style of the logicians, the views and arguments of some poeticians could not become clear and convincing. By doing this, they have given importance to means, not to the end; to the method, not to the matter.

9. Some of them have created an artificiality, a hollow in the name of scholarship which like a mountain is beautiful only from a distance.

So there is a need of reorganising all these dialectical texts so that a modern student can have an access to them. That will bring conceptual clarity and remove some existing confusions. It may be a new trend of preparing *sāragrantha* type of texts which predecessors have attempted in the past.

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MORE LIGHT ON THE CONTRIBUTION OF HARIKAVI FROM SURAT

M. L. WADEKAR*

Introductory :

The Sanskrit has always been the national language of India since ancient times. Each region of India has several scholars/poets who have contributed in several ways by writing treatises, commentaries, poetic pieces etc. in Sanskrit. Gujarat is also such a region of India, the contribution of Sanskrit scholars from which is also quite remarkable and praiseworthy. Several scholars from Gujarat from very ancient times to even modern days have contributed profusely to the Sanskrit Literature. Several articles & even a book are written by scholars, highlighting the contribution of Gujarat[1]. Several commentaries, independent treatises on different *śāstras,* many *Purāṇa*-portions and *Upapurāṇas,* poetic compositions have been written/composed in Gujarat. The present article is written with a view to highlighting the contribution of a poet named Harikavi, who was a resident of Surat.

About Harikavi :

Unlike many other scholars/poets of Sanskrit literature, who do not give any personal details about their date and place, we fortunately get ample authentic information about the poet Harikavi from the several colophonic entries available in his works. As per the

Journal of the Oriental Institute, Vol. 50, Nos. 1-4, Sept.-June 2000-2001 Issue, pp. 223-228.

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1. Articles by Solomon E.A., Shastri A.D., Shah U.P., Jani A.N., Sandesara B.J. etc. in - *Proceedings of First International Sanskrit Conference,* Vol.I, Part I, ed. by V. Raghavan, 1955.
Article : Joshi, P.H. : Unpublished commentaries of Bharatṛyajña- An Ancient Vedic Scholar from Guarat, *Journal of the Oriental Institute,* Vol. 17, p.434
Article : Joshi, P.H. : *Gujaratanā Vidvān Śivarāma Śuklanī Sāmavedīya Kṛtio, Svādhyāya, Pustaka* 21, p.409.
Article : Wadekar, M.L. : *Utsavanirṇayamañjarī* - A Rare and unpublished work of Gaṅgādhara, A scholar from Gujarat, *Journal of the Oriental Institute,* Vol.37, nos. 1-2, Sept. Dec. 1987 Issue, pp.89-125 and Vol.37 nos. 3-4, March - June, 1988 Issue, pp.253-284
Article : *Pravāsakṛtyam - Gujarātanā Vidvān Gaṅgādhara no Eka Durlabha grantha, Svadhyaya, Pustaka* 31, *Aṅka 1-2, Dīpotsavī - Vasantapañcamī Aṅka,* Nov. 1993, Feb. 1994, pp.39-52
Book - Patel, Gautam (General editor) : *Contribution of Gujarat to Sanskrit Literature,* (Dr. M.I. Prajapati Felicitation Volume), Dr. M.I. Prajapati Ṣaṣṭipūrti Sanmāna Samiti, Patan, 1998

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information available in these works, Harikavi also known as the son of Nārāyaṇa and grandson of Raṅganātha. At several places, it is mentioned that he was a Maharashtriyan scholar residing at Surat[2]. The poet has given good poetic descriptions of the rivers- Tāpī, Narmadā and also of Surat city in his work, the *Sūktitaraṅgiṇī.*

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2. इति श्रीरंगनाथिनारायणसूरिसूनुसच्चरणपरमाणुभाऊभट्टापरनामकहरिकविविरचितायां सूक्तितरंगिण्यां भक्तिरसौघे चित्ररसस्थापनसमर्थको नाम प्रथमस्तरंगः ।

इति श्रीसुरपुरस्थितरंगनाथिश्रीनारायणसूरिसूनुभाऊभट्टापरनामकहरिकविकृतसूक्तितरंगिण्यां भक्तिरसौघे पूजोपचार..... तरंगः ।

इति श्रीसुरपुरस्थमहाराष्ट्ररांगनाथिश्रीनारायणसूरिसूनुभाऊभट्टापराभिधेयहरिकविकृतसूक्तितरंगिण्यां भक्तिरसौघे..... नामा तरंगः ।

इति श्रीसूर्यपुरवर्तिदाक्षिणात्यरांगनाथिश्रीनारायणसूरिसूनुहरिकविकृतनर्मदास्तुतिनामा तरंगः ।

इति श्रीमद्गणितगुणगरिमश्रीरंगनाथतनुजश्रीनारायणसूरिसूनुसच्चरणपरमाणुमहाराष्ट्र भाऊभट्टापराभिधेय-हरिपदपद्मकरंदासक्तमनोमिलिन्दाधिपहरिहरिकविकृतसुधाधारानामकस्तरंगः समाप्तिमगमत् ।

इतिश्रीश्रीमत्सूर्यपुरवासिश्रीरांगनाथिश्रीनारायणसूरिसूनुमहाराष्ट्रभाऊभट्टापराभिधेयश्रीहरिप्रियहरिकविकृतामृतधाराख्यश्री-स्तुतिनामकस्तरंगः ।

इति श्रीसुरतपुरमध्यवर्तिदाक्षिणात्यरांगनाथिश्रीनारायणसूरिसूनुभाऊभट्टापरनामकहरिप्रियहरिकृतामृतलहरीनामकगंगास्तुति-नामकस्तरंगः ।

इति श्रीसुरतपुरस्थितरांगनाथिश्रीनारायणसूरिसूनुदाक्षिणात्यभाऊभट्टापरनामकहरिप्रियहरिकविकृतायां सूक्तितरंगिण्यां..... भक्तिरसौघः समाप्तः ।

इति श्रीसुरपुरनारायणसूरिसूनुभाऊभट्टापरनामकहरिकविकृतसूक्तितरंगिण्यां शृंगाररसौघः समाप्तः ।

इति श्रीरांगनाथिनारायणसूरिसूनुहरिकविकृतायां सूक्तितरंगिण्यां अद्भुतरसौघः समाप्तः ।

इति श्रीरंगनाथनारायणसूरिसूनुभाऊभट्टापरनामकहरिकविकृतायां सूक्तितरंगिण्यां वीररौद्रभयकरुणहास्याख्यः पंचरसौघः समाप्तः ।

- *Sūktitaraṅgiṇī of Harikavi* - Oriental Institute, Manuscript Acc. no. 11956

श्रीमद्विबुधमणिनारायणतनो-
स्ततो वासः श्रीमन्मिहिरनगरान्तर्हरिकविः ।
चकोरेमां रेवास्तुतिमखिलसंपत्प्रजननीं
प्रसर्पद्वाग्धारां सुललिततरामच्युतमतिः ॥ ३९ ॥
हरिकविरिह रेवासैकते कन्यकाभ्यां
स्तुतिममितमहिम्नो नर्मदायाश्चकार ।

इति श्रीसुरपुरवर्तिमहाराष्ट्रज्ञातिश्रीमद्रांगनाथिनारायणसूरिसूनुहरिप्रियहरिकविनिर्मितं नर्मदामहिम्नः स्वतनं समाप्तम् ॥

- *Narmadāmahimnastava,* Oriental Institute, Manuscript Acc. no. 9599

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From the authentic statements in the two works, namely, the *Sūktitaraṅgiṇī* and the *Narmadāmahimnastotra*, we get conclusive evidence, regarding the date of the poet Harikavi. In the *Sūkti-taraṅgiṇī*, the poet mentions the date of composition of second *taraṅga* as '*Guṇabhujamunipṛthvī-sammite vikramābde*' i.e. V.S. 1723 which would be 1667 A.D. Similarly in one verse of the *Narmadāmahimnastotra*, the poet refers to the date as "*Bhūtahastasvaradharāsammite vikramābde*" which means V.S. 1725 i.e. 1669 A.D. Though this *stotra* also forms part of *Sūktitaraṅgiṇī*, there is thus a gap of two years between the two works. In fact, the work *Sūktitaraṅgiṇī* seems to form a collection of Sanskrit writings of the poet.

Pandit Siddheshwar Shastri Chitrav[3] has given some more details about this poet. He points out that Harikavi of 1685 A.D. was also known as Bhānubhaṭṭa (Bhāubhaṭṭa ?). He was a court- poet of Sambhājī, the son of elder Śivājī. His father's name was Nārāyaṇa or Nārāyaṇasūri who was also his preceptor and mother's name was Annapūrṇā. His younger brother was Cakrapāṇi. Though his name was Harikavi, he was more famous as Bhānubhaṭṭa. (or Bhāubhaṭṭa ?). He was a resident of Maharashtra. Raṅganātha was his grandfather and Padmanābha was his cousin (*Culatā*). At the advice of Kṛṣṇapaṇḍita- the *guru* or preceptor of Sambhājī, Harikavi- composed the Sanskrit work namely, "*Śambhurājacarita*" (*Caritra* of Sambhājī- i.e. Sambhājī's life history). In this work, there is a description of marriage ceremony of Sambhājī with Campā, the daughter of Tāpīkānta of Surat. Besides, the above work, he also wrote other works, namely, the *Haihayendracarita*, the *Haihayendracaritaṭīkā*, the *Subhāṣitahārāvali* etc. He also wrote the commentary '*Śambhuvilāsikā*' on the *Haihayendracarita* at the order of Sambhājī. Though he was a protege of Sambhājī, he was residing at Surat.

The Works of Harikavi :

The Oriental Institute of Baroda has manuscripts of three works of the above poet.

(A) *Sūktitaraṅgiṇī :*

There are two manuscripts, Acc.No. 11956 and 10502 of this work. The manuscript no.11956 has 157 folios and is a paper manuscript in *Devanāgarī* script. It is, however, incomplete and the date of composition as mentioned in it is V.S. 1723 i.e. 1667 as mentioned previously. The other manuscript No.10502 has only 26-89 folios of the work and many leaves are damaged and are missing. At several places in the colophons at the end of each *taraṅga* & sub-chapters, the poet has mentioned personal details about his

3. Chitrav, Siddheshwar Shastri, *Madhyayugīna Caritrakośa*, Bharatavarshiya Charitrakosha Mandal, Pune, 1937, page 821

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lineage, place of residence & date of composition. The poet has composed the work namely *Sūktitaraṅgiṇī* (the river of good speeches). Naturally, it must have several *oghas* (streams) and these *oghas* (streams) have different *taraṅgas* (waves). First is the *Bhaktirasaugha,* which has several *taraṅgas* which is followed by the *Śānti* and *Adbhuta rasaughas.* Then there is *pañca rasaugha* which incorporates *Vīra, Raudra, Bhayānaka, Karuṇa & Hāsya* - these five *rasas.* Then follow the miscellaneous topics like : *Kavipraśaṁsā, Vividhānyokti, Purādivarṇana, Rājanīti, Jātyādi, Sarvaprakīrṇaka*- which is called *Citrarasaugha.*

The last entry needs to be taken note of here. It is mentioned that this *Citrarasaugha* is written (?) by Dhairyarāma, the son of Yadurāma Śukla of Surat.

(2) *Narmadāmahimnastava* :

This is also a *stotra* work of Harikavi, evidently the eulogy of the river Narmadā. The manuscript of this work is also available in the Oriental Institute, Acc. No. being 9599 and folios are only 3, written on paper material. There are totally 34 verses of the *stotra,* written in the style of *Śivamahimnastotra,* with 30 verses in *Śikhariṇī* metre, one in *Malinī* metre and the last two in *Anuṣṭubh* metre. Fortunately, as described previously, the poet gives detailed information about himself in the colophon. He alludes to himself as Harikavi in the verse No.32 and notes in last verse that the *Narmadāstuti* was composed by him in V.S.1725 (1669 A.D.) on the eighth day of the bright fortnight of *Jyeṣṭha* month[4]. Though written separately and available in a separate manuscript, this also forms a part of the *Sūktitaraṅgiṇī.*

(3) *Jñānasādhanam of Harikavi :*

This is a work on *Phalajyotiṣa,* written by Harikavi, son of Nārāyaṇa[5]. The manuscript of the work is available in the Oriental Institute, with acc.No.3141. It is a paper manuscript having forty three folios and about 1300 *granthas.*

The other works, namely, the *Śambhurājacarita,* the *Haihayendracarita,* the *Haihayendracaritaṭīkā* (*śambhuvilāsikā*) and the *Subhāṣitahārāvali* etc. are mentioned by Pt. Siddheshwar Shastri Chitrav.

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4. भूतहस्तस्वरधरासंमिते विक्रमाब्दके ।
ज्येष्ठमाससितार्धम्यां निर्मिता नर्मदास्तुतिः ॥३४॥

- *Narmadāmahimnastava,* Oriental Institute, Manuscript acc. no.9599

5. विघ्नाधीशं नमस्कृत्य गुरून्नारायणाभिधान् ।
नारायणाख्यान्देवांश्च करोति ज्ञानसाधनम् ॥१॥
त्रैकालिकस्य जगतः शुभाशुभफलस्य तु ।
संहिताभ्यः समाहृत्य संक्षेपेण हरिः कविः ॥२॥

Jñānasādhanam, Oriental Institute, Manuscript Acc. no. 3141

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This entire contribution of Harikavi from Surat needs to be taken notice of & he should be given proper place in the History of Sanskrit in general and the Sanskrit literature of Gujarat in particular.

Postscript :

After writing this article, some more material about Harikavi and his contribution was available. In 1934, Haradatta Sharma wrote on article on "*The Subhāṣitahārāvalī* of Śrī Harikavi, and some poets enjoying the Patronage of Muslim Rulers", which was published in the *Indian Historical Quarterly*[6]. In 1934/35, P. K. Gode's article on "Harikavi alias Bhānubhaṭṭa, a court-poet of king Sambhājī and his works" was published in the *Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute*[7]. In other two articles[8], P.K. Gode refers to the work - *Subhāṣitahārāvalī* of Harikavi. Ludwik Sternbach many often refers to and quotes from the *Subhāṣitahārāvalī* of Harikavi in his several volumes of the *Mahāsubhāṣitasaṅgraha,* based upon the manuscript of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute. He was also written one article entitled "On the *Subhāṣitahārāvalī* and on the *Sūktisahasra"* in the *Journal of Ganganath Jha Kendriya Sanskrit Vidyapeeth*[9].

Ludwik Sternbach properly summarizes the matter and writes[10] - "P.K. Gode and Haradatta Sharma have proved that Harikavi, the author of *Subhāṣitahārāvalī,* was a Deccani Brahmin, resident of Surat, but residing - occasionally at the court of King Sambhājī (Son of Śivājī - the Great); that he lived in the seventeenth century; that he composed : (1) The *Śambhurājacarita* in 1685 (by order of Kavikalaśa, the *guru* of King Sambhājī whom he called Kṛṣṇapaṇḍita, (2) the *Subhāṣitahārāvalī;* (3) the *Haihayendracarita,* a *Mahākāvya* and (4) its commentary the *Śambhuvilāsikā* by order of king Sambhājī himself.

Harikavi was the son and pupil of poet Nārāyaṇa or Nārayaṇasūri and Annapūrṇā; one of his brother (the younger one) was Cakrapāṇi (referred to as *Maṭhaniṣṭhabrātā*); his grandfather was Raṅganātha and great grand father was Cintāmaṇi; his popular name was Bhānubhaṭṭa. He did not, however, take to himself as P.Peterson suggested, the name Akabarīyakalidāsa and did not live on Akabar's court as he quoted, among others,

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6. Vol. X, no.3, 1934, pp. 478-485
7. Vol.16, pp. 262-291
8. 'Harikavi's contribution to the Problem of the Bhavānī-sword of Shivajī the Great" *New Indian Antiquary,* Vol.3, pp.81-100 and "Pārijātadhvajā of the Marāṭhā Sambhājī - *Indian Historical Quarterly* - Vol. 16, pp.40-47 - both articles referred by Ludwik Sternbach in his article, mentioned below.
9. Vol.28, Nos. 3-4, pp.101-147
10. *Ibid.*, pp.102-103

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Jagannātha Paṇḍita, who lived in the the 17th century A.D.

P.K. Gode and Haradatta Sharma have also shown that Harikavi quoted poets from Kashmir upto the Deccan and that he knew and used Rūpa Goswāmin's *Padyāvalī.*"

For more details about the above four works of Harikavi namely (1) *Śambhurājacarita* (2) *Haihayendracarita* (3) *Subhāṣitahārāvalī* (4) *Śambhuvilāsikā* - commentary, the readers may go through the above articles of scholars, mentioned above, which are based upon mss., available in the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Pune.

Conclusion :

Though these scholars have written articles on the above works of Harikavi, they have not at all noticed the three works - (1) *Sūktitaraṅgiṇī* (2) *Narmadāmahimnastavaḥ* and (3) *Jñānasādhanam* and their four manuscripts, deposited in the Oriental Institute. This evidently throws more light on the contribution of Harikavi - a Maharashtriyan scholar from Surat. The detailed study of these works is in progress.

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SAṄGĪTASĀRODDHĀRAḤ : A RARE WORK ON MUSIC

SHWETA S. KALUSKAR*

The present work *Saṅgītasāroddhāraḥ* is based on a Manuscript, preserved in the Government manuscript library at the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona. It deals with *Saṅgītaśāstra,* as the name suggests (i.e. with Indian Music). The author of this work is Kīkarāja and the language used is Sanskrit. The Manuscript contains 16 folios (a and b both = 32 pages in all).

AUTHOR :

The author of this text, Kīkarāja is a learned versatile scholar of *Kapolavaṁśa,* as stated in the colophon of every *prakaraṇa :*

"इति श्रीमत्कपोलवंशावतंस-साधुश्रीसज्जनात्मजसकलविद्याविशारद-महनीयचरितमहाशय-श्रीशारदानन्दन-कीकराजविरचिते संगीतसारोद्धारे स्वरप्रकरणं प्रथमम् ।"

As evinced from the above colophon, his parents were Śrī Sajjana and Śrīmatī Śāradā.

DATE OF THE PRESENT WORK :

The author, Kīkarāja does not leave for us any evidence in his work or even in the colophon to every *prakaraṇa,* to find out the date of this work, as is the practice of many writers of Sanskrit literature. But as Kīkarāja refers to Śārṅgadeva (of 13th century), the author of *Saṅgītaratnākara,* it is crystal clear that he hailed after 13th century A.D.

WORK :

Saṅgītasāroddhāraḥ of Kīkarāja is a rare Manuscript on Indian Music. It is also referred as *Saṅgītopaniṣatsāra* by H.D. Velankar[1]. Two Manuscripts of this work have been noticed as numbers 1126 and 1127 by Rajendralal Mitra in his *Catalogue of Sanskrit manuscripts* in the library of H.H. the Maharaja of Bikaner (published in 1880). Dr. Umakant Premchand Shah[2] refers to it as *Saṅgītopaniṣadsāroddhāraḥ.* He states that as the title suggests, it must

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Journal of the Oriental Institute, Vol. 50, Nos. 1-4, Sept.-June 2000-2001 Issue, pp. 229-236.

* "Martand Krupa", 6/A Shankar Park, Opp. Shivsagar Soc., Nizampura, Baroda - 390 002.

1. Velankar H.D. - *Jinaratnakośa,* Vol.I, page 409.
2. *Vācanācārya Sudhākalaśaviracita Saṅgītopaniṣadsāroddhāraḥ* (Introduction) - GOS Series 133, Oriental Institute, Vadodara, 1961

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be an abridged version of a bigger and possibly more comprehensive work called *Saṅgītopaniṣad,* by the author himself, as admitted in chapter 6, verses 151-152. He further states that the original bigger work is not yet traced in any manuscript collection

As Dr. Shah[3] refers to the verses number 151-152 of the sixth chapter, admitting the work *Saṅgītopaniṣad,* I think that the present work, *Saṅgītasāroddhāraḥ* and the work *Saṅgītopaniṣadsāroddhāraḥ* are different, as there is no such reference as given above found in the present work.

Description of the Manuscript of the present text :

This text (Ms.) *Saṅgītasāroddhāraḥ* written by Kīkarāja is unpublished so far.

Manuscript	:	Accession No.- 828, Govt. Mss. Library, BORI, Poona.
Material	:	Paper
Extent	:	16 Folios (complete)
Language	:	Sanskrit
Script (Scribe - Lakṣmīnārāyaṇa Gauḍa)	:	*Devanāgarī;*
Subject	:	*Saṅgīta-Śāstra* (Indian Music)
No. of lines on each side of folio	:	15 lines
No. of letters in each line	:	40-50 letters in each line
Granthas	:	518 verses (total)
Condition	:	Good

Remarks :

a) The Manuscript begins on folio 1a and ends on folio 16a.

b) It begins with "श्रीगणेशाय नमः" i.e. with salutation to Lord Gaṇeśa and ends with "इति श्रीश्रीमत्कपोलवंशावतंस- साधुश्रीसज्जनात्मज-सकलविद्याविशारद-महनीयचरित-महायश-शारदानन्दन-कीकराजविरचिते संगीतसारोद्धारे नृत्यप्रकरणं सप्तमं समाप्तम् ॥ शुभं भवतु । कल्याणमस्तु लिप्यकृतं लिछमीनारायणगौड ।"

c) The Manuscript bears the numerical figures only on every 'a' page on the top at left margin and at right bottom margin.

d) There are very few marginal notes or scribal errors.

3. *Ibid*

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e) The Manuscript in totality has 518 verses except for the different titles given to the various topics therein which are in prose.

f) No vertical bars are shown to mark the completion of the verse, instead the number of the verse is mentioned.

g) The author has skipped no.30 while numbering the verses in *prakaraṇa*-4.

CONTENTS OF THE TEXT *SAṄGĪTASĀRODDHĀRAḤ* :

The author Kīkarāja begins his work with the auspicious i.e. *Maṅgala* verse glorifying God Kṛṣṇa (Govinda), who is obtained by the good deeds of many births. There are seven *Prakaraṇas* in the present work viz. *Svara, Rāga, Prakīrṇa, Gīta, Vādya, Tāla* and *Nṛtyaprakaraṇas,* which contain 44, 25, 37, 170, 14, 58 and 170 verses respectively. The work totally consists of 518 verses. As it is observed, it deals with almost all the aspects of Indian music in seven chapters. I shall deal with each chapter in brief, here.

1) ***SVARA-PRAKARAṆA :*** Kīkarāja begins with the definition of *'Saṅgīta'* in the eighth verse of his first *prakaraṇa viz. Svara-prakaraṇa.* He refers to the famous definition of *Saṅgīta* as given in the *Saṅgīta-ratnākara* of Śāraṅgadeva :

'गीतं वाद्यं नर्तनं च त्रयं संगीतमुच्यते ॥ १.८ ॥'

He then defines *'Svara'* as that which are placed at different intervals of *Śruti* and gives pleasure :

श्रुत्यनन्तरभावित्वं यस्यानुरणनात्मनः ।
स्निग्धस्य रजकस्यासौ स्वर इत्यभिधीयते ॥ १.९ ॥

Further he gives the names of seven notes *Sā, Re, Ga, Ma, Pa, Dha, Ni* as *Ṣadu, Ṛṣabha, Gandhāra, Madhyama, Pañcama, Dhaivata* and *Niṣāda.*

He further gives information regarding the three scales i.e. *Saptakas - Mandra, Madhya* and *Tāra.* He calls *Mandra Saptaka* as *Mantra* (I.12)

Kikarāja then proceeds to tell about the origin of the seven notes:

Ṣadja - Peacock, *Ṛṣabha* - *Cātaka, Gandhāra* - *Chāga, Madhyama* - *Krauñca, Pañcama*- Cuckoo, *Dhaivata* - Frog., *Niṣāda* - elephant (Nasal tone).

Kīkarāja perhaps follows this concept of origin of *svaras* as stated by *Saraṅgadeva* (13th century) in his *Saṅgītaratnākara* (I.3.48).

मयूरचातकच्छागक्रौञ्चकोकिलदर्दुराः ।
गजश्च सप्तषड्जादीन्क्रमादुच्चारयन्त्यमी ॥ १.३.४८ ॥

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Kīkarāja mentions four types of *Svaras* viz. *Vādī, Saṁvādī, Vivādī* and *Anuvādī.* He also talks about the three *Grāmas* - *Ṣaḍja, Madhyama* and *Gandhāra grāmas* prevalent in olden days. He also discusses about *Mūrchanā* and how the *Grāmas* are formed. He further talks about four types of *Varṇas* viz. *Ārohī, Avarohī, Sañcārī* etc.

2) *RĀGA-PRAKARAṆA :*

In this *Prakaraṇa,* Kīkarāja discusses at length the five *Grāma Rāgas* viz. *Śuddha, Bhinna, Gauḍī, Veśarā* and *Sādhāraṇa.* He talks about 15 *Janaka Rāgas* and 20 *Vibhāṣas,* along with 8 *Rāgāṅgas,* 3 *Upāṅgas* and 12 *Kriyāṅgas.* Later on, he specifies 13 *rāgāṅgas* as : *Madhyamādī, Mālavā, Śrī, Toḍī, Vaṅgāla, Bhairava, Vaṁrātī, Gurjarī, Gauḍa, Vasanta, Dhanyāśī, Deśī* and *Deśa.* He names *Kriyāṅgas* as *Rāmakṛti, Gauḍakṛti* and *Daivakṛti.* Further he names the 27 *Upāṅgas.*

3) *PRAKĪRṆA-PRAKAṚAṆA :*

In this *Prakaraṇa,* he enumerates those concepts which are useful for singing viz. *Gamaka* etc. He defines *Gamaka* as :

अलिप्तः क्रियते तज्ज्ञैर्बहुवैचित्र्यसंयुतः ।
स्वरस्य कम्पो गमकः श्रोतृचित्तसुखावहः ॥ ३.१० ॥

Gamaka is the kind of *Ālāpa* done or performed by the singers by shivering or wavering the note for the pleasure of audience. Kīkarāja mentions 15 types of *gamakas.*

He further discusses the merits and demerits i.e. *Guṇa* and *Doṣas* of the singers :

जितश्रमः सावधानः सर्वदोषविवर्जितः ।
सुसंप्रदायो गीतज्ञैः कथ्यते गायनोत्तमः ॥ ३.३१ ॥

i.e. a person who has won over his activities, who is alert and free from faults, hailing from a good tradition, that singing is said to be the best. While.

गुणः कतिपयैर्हीनो निर्दोषो मध्यमो मतः ।
कैश्चिद्गुणैरुपेतोऽपि सदोषो गायनोधमः ॥

the song of inferior quality is termed as *'Adhama'*. He talks about the faults which are 25 in number. Then he defines *Vṛnda.* गानृवादकसंघातो वृन्दमित्यभिधीयते । i.e. the collection of singers, dancers and players of instruments are known a *Vṛnda* or orchestra. There are six good qualities of *Vṛnda:*

मिथकटितनिर्वाहस्त्रिस्थानव्याप्तिरञ्जसा ।
अवधानं चेति बुधैरुक्ता वृन्दस्य षड्गुणाः ॥ ३.३७ ॥

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4) *GĪTA-PRAKARAṆA* :

Kīkarāja begins this *Prakaraṇa* with the definition of the term '*Gīta*' :

वागुपकारेण कृतं शास्त्रलक्षणसंयुतम् ।
तद्धचतुर्भिरङ्गैश्च गीतमित्यभिधीयते ॥ ४.१ ॥

Prabandha, Melāpaka, Dhruva and *Ābhoga* are considered to be the four parts of *Gīta.* A very novel concept of ascribing deities to the different letters is found here :

अकचटतपयशवर्णास्तेषामेतास्तु देवताः ।
क्रमशः सोमो भौमः सौम्ये जीवः शुक्रः शनी रवी राहुः ॥ ४.१८ ॥

It seems that the author was aware of the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* of Pāṇini and the *Sañjnā prakaraṇa of Siddhāntakaumudī* of Bhaṭṭojī Dīkṣita, as evinced from the order of letters seen above : *a, ka, ca, ṭa, ta, pa* etc.

Further He states that the letters '*Na*', '*Ha*' and '*Ma*' should be avoided in a song as the letter '*Na*' destroys Lakṣmī, '*Ha*' destroys fame and '*Ma*' destroys everything.

नकारो नाशयेल्लक्ष्मीं हकारस्तु हरेद्यशः ।
मकारः सर्वहृत्तस्माद्गीतादौ तत्परित्यजेत् ॥ ४.२२ ॥

Kīkarāja has even classified the letters as Brāhmin, *Kṣatriya, Vaiṣya* and *Śūdra.* For e.g. he classifies *dha, va, ga, ra* as Brahmin letters, *va* & *ṭa* are *Kṣatriya* letters, *ta* & *pa* are *Vaiśya* letters and *ya* & *śa* are *Śūdra* letters.

He proceeds further to enumerate the eight kinds of *Lambhaka.*

He refers to Śāraṅgadeva, who has given the 75 varieties of *Tāla,* out of which some are *Dhruva, Maṇṭha (Matta), Aḍha* and *Ekatālī(Ekatāla).* He specifies the order to perform *Cakravāla.* He also discusses about *Svara-nyāsa,* and types of *svaras* i.e. *Śuddha, Miśrita(80), Mātṛkāvarṇa (82-84)* and also about *Nibaddha* and *Anibaddha Gāna* (85). He has beautifully described about the *Rasas* and the different *tālas* used in various shades of sentiments. *Ekatāla* is used for *Vīra* and *Śṛṅgārarasa, Candraśekhara* for *Vīra, Hāsya* and *Śṛṅgārarasa, Āditāla* for *Hāsya, Śṛṅgāra* and *Karuṇa Rasa* and *Krīḍātāla* for *Śṛṅgāra* and *Vīra Rasa,* which also portrays victory and auspiciousness. According to Kīkarāja, the *Tālas* of 19 letters bestow success, the *Tālas* of 21 letters when used for *Śṛṅgāra Rasa* provide whatever is desired and the *Tālas* of 22 letters should be used for *Hāsya Rasa.* For e.g.

चतुर्विंशतिवर्णस्तु क्रीडातालेन गीयते ।
शृङ्गारवीरयोरेतज्जयमङ्गलसंज्ञकः ॥ ४.३१ ॥

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He, then discusses in brief the *Prabandhas* described by *Śāraṅgadeva* in his *Saṅgītaratnākara* and also puts forth the faults found in the song as well as *Rasa-doṣas* and *Bhāvadoṣas.*

5) *VĀDYAPRAKARAṆA* :

Here, Kīkarāja discusses in detail about the four types of instruments viz., *Avanaddha, Ghana, Tata* and *Taintrinata* (*Vitata*) instruments. He mentions about two types of *Vīṇā* of ancient days viz. *Śruti-vīṇā* and *Svara-vīṇā.* In today's age the different types of *Vīṇā* mentioned by Kīkarāja are : *Ekatantrī, Nakula (Tritantrikā), Citrā, Vipañcī, Mattakokilā, Ālāpinī, Kinnarī and Pinākī.* He classifies *Vaṁśa, Pāva, Pāvika, Murli* etc. under the category of *Suṣira* instruments. *Ḍamaru, Ḍakkā, Ḍakkulī, Dundubhī, Tambukī* etc. are *Avanaddha* instruments and in the category of *Ghana* falls *Nāla, Kāṁsya, Tāla, Ghaṇṭā, Kṣudraghaṇṭikā, Jayaghaṇṭā* etc.

'नालस्य कांस्यतालश्च घण्टा च क्षुद्रघण्टिका ।
जयघण्टा ततः क्रमात् शुक्तिपदादयस्तथा ॥ ५.१० ॥
घनवाद्यप्रभेदास्युरेतेभ्यो ये च दर्शनात् ॥'

The most important feature of this *Prakaraṇa* is that Kīkarāja has mentioned Śiva and Śakti as the powers :

अन्त्यनादी भवेच्छक्तिर्भूरिनादो शिवो भवेत् ।
वामेन धारयेच्छक्तिं शिवं दक्षिणपाणिना ॥ ५.१३ ॥

6) *TĀLA-PRAKARAṆA :*

Tāla is said to be of two types - *Mārgī* and *Deśī* opines Kīkarāja. (Mostly these two are the types of music i.e. *Saṅgītapaddhati*). Kīkarāja looks forward to describe and give the different *tālas.* For e.g. He gives *Āditāla* as follows :

आदितालो लघुः प्रोक्तो लोके रासः स उच्यते ।
तकजगकढिं क्वुत क्विट किण थिरदरगीऽदोहयिऽदिप्किटद्रोंकिटत-
क्विट किंण प्परि न गि भगि दिगि दिगि तुं कुं को इत्यादितालः ॥ ६.१९ ॥

This whole *prakaraṇa* is full of such *tālas,* wherein the *Bolas* (words) of the *tālas* are found to be similar to that of *Nṛtya* i.e. used for dance and it deals with *Dvitīya, Tṛtīya, Caturtha tāla* etc, referring to the *Laghu, Guru* and *Pluta.* Further he proceeds to give *tālas* like *Gaurī, Sarasvatīkaṇṭhābharaṇa, Brahmatāḷa, Vattatāla* (might be *Matta-tāla*) etc.

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7) *NṚTYA-PRAKARAṆA :*

In this final or last *prakaraṇa*, Kīkarāja presents before us the demarcation line or difference between *Nāṭya, Nṛtya* and Nṛtta. He also discusses whether the dances such as *Tāṇḍava, Lāsya* etc. should be performed and how should be the facial expressions therein.

तद्भक्त्रमुद्धतप्रायप्रयोगं तत्र ताण्डवम् ।
लास्यं तु सुकुमाराङ्गं रसभावसमन्वितम् ॥ ७.७ ॥

What should be hhe position of every limb of the body during different dances is enumerated at length by Kīkarāja. He also talks about *Patākāḥ, Tripatākāḥ, Kartarīmukhaḥ, Śikharaḥ, Kapatthaḥ, Ṣaṭakāmukhaḥ, Śukatuṇḍaḥ, Kāṅgula, Padmakośa, Alapallava, Sūcīmukha, Sarpaśīrṣa, Mṛgaśīrṣa* etc. and so on.

LITERARY ASPECTS :

Observing the language and flow maintained by the author Kīkarāja, it is clear that he has followed the *Vaidarbhī* style of composition, as stated by Viśvanātha in his *Sāhitya-Darpaṇa:*

माधुर्यव्यञ्जकैर्वर्णै रचना ललितात्मिका ॥ ९.२१ ॥
अवृत्तिरल्पवृत्तिर्वा वैदर्भी रीतिरिष्यते ॥

The main features of this style are sweet words, graceful composition and short compounds. The very first characteristic of literary style found in *Saṅgītasāroddhāraḥ* is the ease with which the author writes. Moreover elaborate constructions, long compounds, and artificiality are totally absent in this work. Another prominent feature is conciseness. Kīkarāja does not use more words than those which are absolutely necessary. Moreover the whole work is mostly in *Anuṣṭup* metre, which makes it easy, simple and clear to understand.

RESUME :

From the contents of the text *Saṅgītasāroddhāraḥ*, it is evinced that the author Kīkarāja was a great lover and connoisseur of Indian Music. From his depiction of various *prakaraṇas* viz. *Svara, Rāga, Prakīrṇa, Gīta, Vādya, Tāla* and *Nṛtya*, it is very clear that he was well-versed not only in *Hindustānī* form of music but also in the *Karṇāṭakī* form of music. Very few scholars are conversant with both the forms, as it is observed in *Saṅgītasāroddhāraḥ.*

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As this rare Manuscript sheds light on all the aspects of Indian music, all at one place, I think it is an original contribution of Kīkarāja to the field of Indian Music on the whole. I would here take a chance to thank all those who helped me directly or indirectly and especially express deep sense of gratitude towards Dr. S.Y. Wakankar, the Deputy Director of the Oriental Institute, Baroda for locating and making this Manuscript available to me.

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WORKS OF SIDDHĀNTAVĀGĪŚA BHAṬṬĀCĀRYA - A BIRD'S EYE-VIEW

SASWATI SEN*

It is very usual in our vast country that many important works are scattered here and there and they go beyond the scholars' notice. Although, our literary tradition is very rich and old, the repeated invasions by the foreigners, especially in the middle of the last millennium, had caused destruction to a good number of works especially manuscripts. The migration of the scholars from one place to the another as well as circulation of copies of the works throughout the country, in a way, are responsible for scattering of manuscripts. Therefore, now-a-days, it is very difficult to trace the copies of a particular work from a particular region. The present article is based on the works of a noted digest-writer of the eastern India whose works are mostly found in the western part of our country. Siddhāntavāgīśa Bhaṭṭācārya belonged to 17th century A.D. - i.e. in the last part of the *dharmaśāstra* literature period (800-1800 A.D.) which is said to be the period of the commentators and the digest-writers. The roots of the *dharmaśāstra* are found in the Vedas, but, not in a methodical way. The main purpose of composing this type of literature is to guide people in their daily conduct, guiding in applying laws keeping balance with the changing condition of the society and polity.

Siddhāntavāgīśa Bhaṭṭācārya is known for his five works, viz.

(1) *Tīrthakaumudī* (तीर्थकौमुदी)
(2) *Saṅkrāntikaumudī* (संक्रान्तिकौमुदी)
(3) *Kṛtyakaumudī* (कृत्यकौमुदी)
(4) *Vyavahārakaumudī* (व्यवहारकौमुदी)
(5) *Śuddhikaumudī* (शुद्धिकौमुदी)

None of these works is published, to the best of our knowledge and the manuscripts of these works are preserved in different places.

1. *Tīrthakaumudī*:

As per the N.C.C. Vol.VIII, p.188, there are three manuscripts of *Tīrthakaumudī* -

Journal of the Oriental Institute, Vol. 50, Nos. 1-4, Sept.-June 2000-2001 Issue, pp. 237-244.

* Oriental Institute, M.S. University of Baroda, Baroda.

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one is preserved in Oudh, the other belongs to some Devadatta Trivedi, Murshidabad, West Bengal. The reference to the third manuscript is found in the typed descriptive list of manuscripts in Assam. This list mentions the owner of each manuscript also. Since this list is not published, we cannot make out to whom does the manuscript belong.

The work is a dissertation on sacred places of pilgrimage. It gives details of how these places became so sacred. It discusses about the religious duties that should be performed and also about the things that should be avoided. The work furnishes a list of Hindu pilgrimage centres with detailed notes on them. It is a voluminous work having more than 4000 *ślokas*. The manuscript which belongs to Shri Devadatta Trivedi has 148 folios. It is written on country made paper and in Bengali script.

Beginning

गौरीदृगालोकनहीनलज्जं सज्ञातनानाविधभावजातम् ।
वन्दे विरोधस्मृतिभूतभीत्या पञ्चाननं पञ्चशरप्रपञ्चम् ॥
..पुराणस्मृतितन्त्राणि विलोक्य..... सङ्ग्रहान् ।
नत्वा गणेशं वागीशस्तनुते तीर्थकौमुदीम् ॥

End

सम्मानं विविधं धनञ्च लभते यः कामरूपेश्वराद्
यः स्वान्ते....नितान्तममले नारायणं कारणम् ।
यस्योर्वी कविता निसर्गमधुरा सत्तर्कगर्भा गिरः
वागीशस्य मनोरमा कृतिरियं तस्यास्तु सत्प्रीतये ॥

Colophon

इति महामहोपाध्यायभट्टाचार्यश्रीसिद्धान्तवागीशविरचिता तीर्थकौमुदी समाप्ता ।

2. *Saṅkrāntikaumudī* :

The manuscript of this work belongs to Shri Dvarakanath Bhattacharya, Kalna, West Bengal. The ms. has 15 folios and 217 *ślokas*. The work is written on palm leaves and in Bengali script. The date of composition of the work is *Śaka* 1540 = 1618 A.D. The age of the ms. is not mentioned.

The work deals in details with the religious duties to be performed at the time of *Saṅkrānti*.

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* The details of *Tirthakaumudī* and *Saṅkrāntikaumudī* have been collected from Rajendralal Mitra's *Notices of Sanskrit Manuscripts*, Vols. V & VIII.

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Beginning

गोविन्दचरणद्वन्द्वं नत्वा ध्यात्वा गुरोः पदम् ।
संक्रान्तिकौमुदी यत्नाद् **वागीशेन** वितन्यते ॥
तत्र ज्योतिषे । अयने विषुवे द्वे च चतस्रः षडशीतयः ॥.....

End

काव्यकैरवपूर्णेन्दोस्तर्कपङ्कजभास्वतः ।
वागीशस्य कृतिः प्रीतिं करोतु कृतिनां सदा ॥

Colophon

इति महामहोपाध्यायजगद्गुरुश्रीसिद्धान्तवागीशभट्टाचार्यविरचिता **संक्रान्तिकौमुदी** समाप्ता ॥ शाके १५४० ।

The Oriental Institute, Baroda, is the preserver of the manuscripts of the following works of Siddhāntavāgīśa. Single, rare mss. of these works are preserved only in this Institute.

3. ***Kṛtyakaumudī* (*Ekoddiṣṭaśrāddha* portion only)**

Acc. no. - 10152

Folios - 4

Granthas - 100

Language - Sanskrit

Script - Bengali

Material - Aloe bark (*agarutvak*)*

Date of composition - ms. is incomplete therefore, not found

Size - 46 x 6 cms.

It is an incomplete work, only the portion on *Ekoddiṣṭaśrāddha* is available and it is complete. The reference to the availability of the complete work is not found in any ms. catalogues.

The work deals with a detailed procedure of performing *Ekoddiṣṭaśrāddha*. There are several types of *śrāddhas* of which the two are main - *Pārvaṇa* and *Ekoddiṣṭa*. In the first one, the three deceased paternal ancestors are invoked, whereas, in the second, only the deceased is invoked - *eka uddiṣṭo yasmin śrāddhe tadekoddiṣṭamiti karmanāmābhidheyam.*

* Agarutvak or Aloe bark is the inner bark of the Aquilaria Agallocha or Aloe tree. It is named as *sāci-pāt* in Assam and was very popular writing material in the north-eastern India.

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The *Ekoddiṣṭa* should be performed in the noon (*madhyāhna*) and not in one's own premises (*parakīyabhūmau*). The son of the deceased is the first *adhikārī*, in his absence, wife of the deceased can perform. This rite is to be observed by people of different castes in different days viz. the *brāhmaṇas* on the 11th day from the day the person died, the *kṣatriyas* on the 13th day, the *vaiśyas* and the *śūdras* on the 16th and the 31st days respectively. In this rite, the *brāhmaṇa*, who has full control over his senses (*jitendriya*) is to be invited, in his absence, *kuśa* grass is used as his replacement (*kuśa brāhmaṇa*).

Beginning

अथैकोद्दिष्टश्राद्धम् । तत्रायं क्रमः । पूर्वेद्युः निरामिषमेकवारं भुक्त्वा परेद्युर्नित्यं समाप्य स्वस्तिवाचनपूर्वकं गणपत्यादिदेवताः सम्पूज्य –

ॐ सहस्रशीर्षा पुरुषः सहस्राक्षः सहस्रपात् ।
स भूमिं सर्वतः स्पृष्ट्वाव्यतिष्ठद्दशाङ्गुलम् ।

ॐ यज्ञेश्वराय भगवते विष्णवे नमः इति सम्पूज्य

ॐ अनादिनिधनज्ञान नित्यानन्द जनार्दन ।
मयात्र श्राद्धे कर्तव्ये सन्निधिर्भव केशव ॥

इति कृताञ्जलिः पठित्वा पाद्यादिभिः पूजयेत् ।

End

ॐ यज्ञच्छिद्रं तपश्छिद्रं यच्छिद्रमस्मिन् कर्मणि ।
तत् सर्वमच्छिद्रमस्तु भास्करस्य प्रसादतः ॥

इत्यच्छिद्रमवधार्य विष्णुं स्मरेत् कीर्तयेच्च । ततः पिण्डाग्रभागं ब्राह्मणं भोजयेत् । प्रदीप्ते अग्नौ जले वा क्षिपेत् । ततः सूर्यं कुशब्राह्मणं.....दित्येकोद्दिष्टश्राद्धं सम्पूर्णम् ।

Colophon

इति सिद्धान्तवागीशभट्टाचार्यविरचिता **पितृकृत्यकौमुदी** समाप्ता ।

At the end of the ms. the procedure of the *pārvaṇa śrāddha* is given but, it is incomplete. It runs like this अथ पार्वणम् । तत्रामावास्या प्रेतपक्षे मृतयोः पित्रोरेव साग्निना निरग्निना प्रतिसम्वत्सरं कार्यं न भ्रात्रादीनाम् । etc.

4. *Vyavahārakaumudī*

Acc. no. - 10105

Fols. - 15

Granthas - 200

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Language - Sanskrit

Script - Bengali

Material - Countrymade paper

D.C. - *Śaka* 1535 = 1613 AD.

Size - 34 x 11 cms.

The text is a *smṛti* compilation containing succinct rules, rites and observances thereof. The author repeatedly mentions the opinions of the famous authorities like Kātyāyana, Bṛhaspati, Nārada, Yājñavalkya, Manu and discusses and explains the matter therein. For example the author quotes Bṛhaspati about *vyavahāra-*

धर्मादिनिर्णयानाह बृहस्पतिः ।
सम्यग्विचार्य कार्यश्च सम्परिकल्पि .....(folios are torn)
.....शपथैर्ज्ञेयो धर्मविनिर्णयः ॥
शास्त्रं केवलमाश्रित्य क्रियते यत्र निर्णयः ।
व्यवहारः स विज्ञेयो धर्मस्तेना..... ॥ etc. (fols. 13a-b)

The left side of the manuscript is torn and, therefore, that portion on every folio is unreadable.

Beginning

ॐ नमो गणेशाय । श्रीकृष्णपादाम्भोरुहद्वन्द्वपरायणः । **वागीशो**ऽतिप्रयत्नेन वक्ति सम्बन्धकौमुदीम् ।

Here the title of the work differs from that given in the colophon.

End

इदमुपलक्षणं पूर्वजरहित इत्यपि द्र .....चन्द्रचरणाम्बुजार्चकः कौमुदीं करुणया रूपामयः (7) ।

Colophon

कामरूपवसतिर्महामतिः कामरूपपतिः पण्डितोऽकरोत्..... सिद्धान्तवागीशभट्टाचार्येण पञ्चत्रिंशदधिकपञ्चदशशतशकाब्दे विरचिता **व्यवहारकौमुदी** समाप्ता ।

5. ***Śuddhikaumudī***

Acc. no. - 10183

Folios - 58

Granthas - 800

Language - Sanskrit

Script - Bengali

Material - Countrymade paper

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D.C. - *Śaka* 1534 = 1612 AD

Scribe - Nīlāmbara, son of Śaṅkara, grandson of Pītāmbara

Size - 44 x 9 cms.

The work is a treatise on *śaucāśaucaviveka*. In the very first folio of the ms. the contents of the work have been furnished like *maraṇāśaucam, jananāśaucam, anumaraṇāśaucam, garbhasrāvāśaucam* and so on. The rules and regulations of *aśauca* are also given (*aśaucavidhiniṣedhaḥ*). The work first describes the nature of impurity, followed by the ways of purification (*śaucam*) by people of different castes and then the gist. Here, a very peculiar thing has been noticed i.e. *rodanāśaucam* - a portion of it deserves a mention -

अथ रोदननिमित्ताशौचम्। तत्र ब्राह्मणस्य तद्गृहगमनं विना ब्राह्मणसम्बन्धिरोदने ब्राह्मे मृतस्य यावद् ब्राह्मणस्य कृतान्यपि तावदबान्धवः कश्चिद् रौति तदबान्धवैः सह। मृतस्य ब्राह्मणस्य यावत्काले नास्थीनि सञ्चितानि भवन्ति तत्कालमध्येसपिण्डो ब्राह्मणो यदि रौति तदा स्नानात् शुद्धिः। etc. (fol. 29a)

Beginning

ॐ नमो गणेशाय।
आराध्य माधवं देवं ध्यात्वा नत्वा पदद्वयम्।
वागीशोऽतिप्रयत्नेन तनुते शुद्धिकौमुदीम्॥

End

पित्र्यमानिधनकार्यं विधिवद्दर्भपाणिनेति परिशिष्टसामान्याभिधानात् प्राचीनावीतित्वमुक्तमेव। एवमेव द्वैतपरिशिष्टम्। अत एव दक्षिणानामिकायां पवित्रधारणं वामहस्ते उपग्रहधारणं तासामपि।

Colophon

पीताम्बरेण धीरेण कामरूपनिवासिना।
कृतेयं कौमुदी भूयाद्धिताय विदुषां सदा॥

इति महामहोपाध्याय-जगद्गुरु-श्रीसिद्धान्तवागीशभट्टाचार्येण चतुस्त्रिंशदधिकपञ्चदशागतशकाब्दे विरचिता शुद्धिकौमुदी समाप्ता।

Post Colophon

नीलाम्बरेण विप्रेण कामरूपनिवासिना। लिखिता कौमुदी भूयाद्धिताय विदुषां सदा॥ पीताम्बरस्य पौत्रेण नीलाम्बरेण धीमता। शंकरस्य च सुतेन लिखिता शुद्धिकौमुदी॥

Mm. P.V. Kane[1] refers to Siddhāntavāgīśa in the list of the authors on *dharmaśāstra*

1. Kane, P.V., *History of Dharmaśāstra*, Vol.I, BORI, Poona, pp.535, 554, 629, 638, 654 & 755

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along with his works. From the surname or the title of the author, we know that he is a Bengali by birth. The mss. are also written in Bengali script although they are not authors' copies. From the mss. cited above, we come to know that though a Bengali, the author is from Kāmarūpa, Assam and he was patronised by the king of that place. All *ślokas* at the beginning of the works indicate that he was a devotee of Lord Viṣṇu. He was well-versed in Purāṇa, Smṛti, Tantra. His compositions are beautiful which were very much relished by all. The colophons say that he was given the title of *mahāmahopādhyāya* and was respected as *jagadguru* (preceptor of the world). No more information about him is traceable.

In the colophon of the *Śuddhikaumudī*, the author has been mentioned as *Pitāmbara*. Mm. Kane has referred to one Pītāmbara Siddhāntavāgīśa[2], who has two works to his credit viz. *Dāyakaumudī* and *Vivādakaumudī*. Both the works were composed *Śaka* 1529 i.e. 1604 AD. Basically the *Dāyakaumudī* is a section of the latter one. This Siddhāntavāgīśa probably was patronised by Bali Narayan of Kochbehar, West Bengal and according to NCC[3], he had written a series of *dharmaśāstra* works named *Kaumudī* between 1603 AD to 1605 AD. However, this information provided by NCC does not tally with that of Mm. Kane. According to him, Pītāmbara Siddhāntavāgīśa was patronised by the king of Assam.

There is another Śambhunātha Siddhāntavagīśa who had also composed a number of *dharmaśāstra* works referred to by Mm Kane[4] as "a *paṇḍita* at the court of the Prince of Kāmarūpa."

From the works discussed above, we know that the present Siddhāntavagīśa also had relation with the *Kāmarūpādhipati*. It is a very strange coincident that three of them bearing identical names were Bengali by birth and were patronised by the King of Assam and all of them were Smṛti-writers. Only the period of their composition is different. Pītāmbara Siddhāntavāgīśa flourished between 1603-1605 A.D. A work entitled, *Akālabhāskara* was composed in 1715 A.D. by Śambhunātha Siddhāntavāgīśa, referred to by Kane. Therefore, there is a possibility of the first two Siddhāntavāgīśa, being identical, but, the third is definitely a different person.

Whatever confusion may be remaining with the name Siddhāntavāgīśa, we are only concerned here with the works composed by him. The *dharmaśāstra* texts are legion and nobody exactly knows when these formed a separate literature. Apart from having religious and literary value, these texts are very important as far as regional culture is concerned. Separate texts had been written for separate regions. For example, the above mentioned

2. Kane, *op.cit.*, p.712
3. NCC, Vol. XII, p.103
4. Kane, *op.cit.*, p.748

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texts were for people of eastern India. If we note the third line of the *Kṛtyakaumudī* - *purvedyurnirāmiṣam bhuktvā*..... we see that *saṅkalpa* to be uttered by the performer is a non-vegaterian. Therefore, he is specifically advised to take vegetarian food (*nirāmiṣam*) on the day before performing the *śrāddha*. There are plenty of instances like this. All the instructions are given keeping in mind the habits developed by the people of that particular region, the situations they are facing, the rules they are following, their ethics/morals and so on. It is, therefore, necessary to bring forth this type of literature which has helped to preserve the integrity of our society through decades despite facing various types of difficulties.

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INDIAN MANUSCRIPTS SENT FROM CHANDERNAGORE AND PONDICHERRY : (A.D. 1714-1735) ROLE OF THE FRENCH EAST INDIA COMPANY AND JESUIT MISSIONARIES

S. JEYASEELA STEPHEN*

The aim of this paper is to investigate the collection of Indian manuscripts undertaken by the French at Pondicherry and Chandernagore and sent to France between 1714 and 1735 during the first half of the Eighteenth Century. The importance of these manuscripts in various subjects and in different Indian languages, and the role of the French merchants and missionaries who had evinced keen interest in the age of enlightenment are also dealt with here.

Some of the French Jesuit missionaries who came to the Tamil Coast in the Eighteenth Century to preach Gospel were interested in collecting the Tamil manuscripts. Fr. Jean Venanat Bouchet (1655-1732) is a pioneer in this regard and he in his letter dated 18 December 1714 to Fr. Du Halde mentioned that he had obtained a Tamil grammar manuscript and sent it to France[1]. Fr. Tessier de Gralley another French Jesuit in the same year had sent some Tamil manuscripts (besides seeds of some plants) to France[2]. On receipt of these Tamil manuscripts by the fellow French Jesuits in Paris, Abbe Jean Bignon, the royal librarian of the King of France in Paris in 1719 directed the officials of the French East India Company in Chandernagore and Pondicherry in addition to the French missionaries on the Bengal and the Coromandel Coast to collect various manuscripts in different languages from India and send them to France. These official instructions given in November 1727 reached India. Monsieur Lenoir, the French Governor of Pondicherry was entrusted the work of collecting manuscripts and he approached Fr. Etienne le Gac, the Jesuit Superior in Pondicherry mission and entrusted the job[3]. An agreement in this connection was reached between the Governor of Pondicherry and the Jesuit Superior of the Pondicherry mission stipulating that necessary funds would be provided by the French East India Company and

Journal of the Oriental Institute, Vol. 50, Nos. 1-4, Sept.-June 2000-2001 Issue, pp. 245-248.

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1. *Archive Provinciae Parisensis Societatis Jesu,* Paris, Mss. Index 3.
2. *Archives de Mission Etrangers de Paris,* Paris, Mss. Vol. 959, fl.357.
3. Omont, H., *Missions archaeologiques franacis en orient aux XVII e XVIII e siecles,* 2 Vols, Paris, 1902.

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the expenses would be reimbursed by the King of France to the Frech Company. Necessary paper also from China would be provided for use. Two copies of each manuscript were be prepared and one would be sent to the library of the King of France and the other copy would be retained by the French Jesuits in Pondicherry[4]. Other details such as the way in which the manuscripts to be acquired, the cost to buy or to copy the manuscripts, the wages to be paid to the Brahmins or others engaged in search for original texts were also neatly described in the same agreement. As the work of collecting and copying the manuscripts began immediately in 1728, the first shipment of manuscripts to France took place in 1729 from Pondicherry[5]. In the letter of Fr. Jean Calmette (1693-1740) dated 26 August 1730 mention has been made as to how these manuscripts were carefully sent in boxes to France[6]. *Ṛgveda, Yajurveda, Sāmaveda* and *Atharvaveda* which were in plam leaves were purchased for seventeen Arcot Rupees and $8\,^3/_4$ *paṇams* by Fr. Etienne Le Gac is separately mentioned in his letter dated 28 September 1732 written to Fr. Soussie, the royal librarian in Paris[7]. *Mahābhārata* in seventeen volumes was bought for one hundred and seventy seven Arcot Rupees[8]. Various manuscripts were sent from Pondicherry include Telugu grammar, Tamil grammar, Telugu-French dictionary, Telugu-Sanskrit dictionary, Portuguese-Tamil dictionary and Tamil-Portuguese dictionary. *Bhagavadgītā* was bought for three rupees. *Mahābhārata* manuscript in paper was purchased for three rupees and six *paṇams*. Ten other manuscripts including *Rāmāyaṇa, Raghuvaṁśa, Pañcatantra* and *Hītopadeśa* were also subsequently sent from Pondicherry between 1734 and 1735. Thus during the period of the study, a total of 129 manuscripts sent from Pondicherry had safely reached France[9].

4. Jean Marie Lafont, "Les Indes, des Lumieres de 1610-1840", in *Passeurs d' Orient,* Paris, 1990, pp.13-17.

5. Omont, H. *op.cit,* pp.828-851. Signard, the secretary of the French Governor (Monsieur Lenoir) in Pondicherry mentioned that Monsieur Didier had carried Tamil manuscripts to France in 1719. See, H. Omont, *op.cit.,* p.833.

6. Madurai Province Jesuit Archives, (hereafter MPJA) Shembaganur, India, *Mss. Documents Bertrand,* Vol. III, Document No.309. See also, S. Jeyaseela Stephen, *Protuguese in the Tamil Coast : Historical Explorations in Commerce and Culture, 1507-1749, Navajyoti,* Pondicherry, 1998, p.354.

7. MPJA, *Mss. Documents Bertrand,* Vol.III, Document No.320. See also, H. Omont, *op.cit.,* p.1189.

8. Omont H., *op.cit.,* p.1181.

9. Omont H., *op.cit.* p.1188. See also, *Memories des Livres Tamouls et Talanga Envoyes en France pour la Bibliotheque du Roy par ces Peres Jesuites de la Mission du Caranatic & Memoir des Livres Malabares Envoyes a la Bibliotheque du Roy par ces Peres Jesuites de Pondicherry en Janvier 1734 pour Etienne le Gac, 4 Fevrier 1734,* in H. Omont, *op.cit.,* pp.1188-1189; See also *Etat des Livres Malabares Envoyes a la Bibliotheque du Roy par ces Peres Jesuites*

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In Chandernagore the missionaries were also actively involved in the collection of Indian manuscripts. Fr. Francois Marie de Tours, a Franciscan of the Tibetan Mission who lived at Chandernagore had collected a manuscript on the grammar of Hindustani to learn Urdu in 1703. He had sent this manuscript to his superiors in Rome and it was received and kept in the library of the *Propaganda Fide* in Rome which was received in 1704 in Italy[10]. Fr. Pons a French Jesuit took much interest in collecting manuscripts in Chandernagore. Two copyists were employed to transcribe the text from the original[11]. Fr. Pons had sent these manuscripts collected immediately through the French ships that left for Pondicherry to be sent to France. The desire for acquisition of the Indian manuscripts rose so much that we find that there were thirty one manuscripts dealing with philology alone that had been sent by him from Chandernagore on 13 December 1732. Sanskrit grammars, dictionaries, commentaries on Sanskrit grammar, A grammar of Prakrit were also sent and details were mentioned in the explanatory notes given by Fr. Pons in French and it was attached with them while sending the manuscripts[12]. A catalogue of 287 Indian manuscripts totally available in King's Library in Paris was prepared in Latin in the year 1739.

Some of the important Purāṇas such as *Śivapurāṇa, Brahmapurāṇa, Kalkīpurāṇa, Vāyupurāṇa, Liṅgapurāṇa, Matsyapurāṇa, Agnipurāṇa, Bhāgavatapurāṇa, Narasiṁhapurāṇa, Mārkaṇḍeyapurāṇa, Brahmavaivartapurāṇa, Viṣṇupurāṇa, Kālikāpurāṇa* and *Bṛhannnāradapurāṇa* were sent from Chandernagore to France. Further twenty two manuscripts dealing with poetry were sent which include *Naiṣadhīya* and *Kādambarī* in two parts. Plays in Sanskrit were sent which include *Mudrārākṣasa of Viśākhādatta, Vikramorvaśīya of Kālidāsa, Śākuntalanāṭaka, Mahānāṭaka* and *Anargharāghava of Murāri.* Twenty six manuscripts dealing with law, philosophy, religious rites and cults of Gods were sent which include *Manusmṛti, Aṣṭaviṁśatitattva of Raghunandana Bhaṭṭācārya*, another work of Raghunandana Bhaṭṭācārya's *Tattvaśāstra* in twenty four parts in eleven volumes, *Śrāddhaviveka, Sandhyā, Āgamaśāstra, Bhaktiśāstra, Vālmīki-Rāmāyaṇa* besides one manuscript from the *Upaniṣadas*[13]. Manuscripts such as *Udayanācārya's Kusumāñjali, Kiraṇāvali* (both *Dravya Kiraṇāvali* & *Guṇa Kiraṇāvali*) and the commentary of Vardhamāna were sent to France from Chandernagore. *Cintāmaṇi* of Gaṇeśvara, *Prathiyakkiyam* and

Contd.....

de Pondicherry en 1735 pour Etieene Le Gac, in Omont H., *op.cit.*, pp.1191-1192; See also Antoine Cabaton, *Catalogue Sommaire des Manuscrits Indien.... Bibliotheque Nationale,* Paris, 1912.

10. Bibliotheque Nationale, Paris (hereafter BNP), *Mss. Indien,* No.840.
11. Omont H., *op.cit.*, p.1185.
12. *Ibid,* p.1187.
13. *Ibid,* p.1189.

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Śabda were purchased for 4 Arcot rupees and $2^3/_4$ *paṇams*[14]. Mishra Madhurānātha, commentary of *Cintāmaṇi*, Gadādhara Bhaṭṭācārya's seven volumes were bought for seventeen Arcot rupees. Other manuscripts include *Darśana*, eight manuscripts on Astronomy and Astrology[15] besides twenty manuscripts in Persian, two copies of *Śāhnāmā* were also sent from Chandernagore to France[16]. Thus under the period of the study, a total of 158 manuscripts dealing with various disciplines such as Philology (31 Mss.), Mysticism and Philosophy (22 Mss.), Purāṇas (25 Mss.), *Darśana* (29 Mss.), Astronomy and Astrology (8 Mss.), Poetry (9 Mss.), Law, customs and worship of Gods (25 Mss.) and *Nyāya Darśana* (29 Mss.) were sent from Chandernagore to France[17].

In fine, the efforts of Fr. Etienne Le Gac in Pondicherry and Fr. J. Pons in Chandernagore, the two French Jesuit missionaries and Monsieur Lenoir, the French Governor and officials of the French East India company are to be noted and appreciated for collecting and sending the Indian manuscripts to France for posterity. These two Jesuits made careful search, conducted good selection, arranged for neat copying and undertook meticulous corrections in the manuscripts. Further they had also taken steps to get the manuscripts bound well before sending them in the ships to France.

Although the French East India Company in India needed money for their trade in Asia, they have invested quite a good sum of money in collecting and copying manuscripts besides purchasing them for cash. The fact that Sanskrit manuscripts were sent in large number from Chandernagore shows that manuscripts in Bengali language were not much available in Bengal. Less number of manuscripts i.e., 129 were sent from Pondicherry while from Chandernagore 158 manuscripts were sent and it is a large number when compared. William Jones who came to India and was living in Calcutta in 1783 had access to these manuscripts sent from Chandernagore by Fr.Pons, while he was in England. This information is found from the list of persons who had consulted the Sanskrit manuscripts in Paris. In the light of the above discussion, it is concluded that Fr. Pons, the French Jesuit is the pioneer of oriental studies in Bengal and the general view that William Jones (the founder of the Asiatic Society of Bengal on 15 January 1784) as the pioneer of Indology in Bengal is to be reconsidered.

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14. *Ibid*, p.1190.
15. *Ibid*, p.1181.
16. *Ibid*, p.1186.
17. *Catalogue General des Livres qui ont et e Envoyes de Chandernagore dans le Royaume de Bengale, pour la Bibliotheque du Roy, J, Pons d' Chandernagore, 13 December 1732.* See also *Catalogues Codicum Manusctiptorum Bibliothecae Regaie*, Tomus Primus, Codices Orientales, Paris, 1739, pp.438-448.

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"*ALAṄKĀRASĀRA*" - A DIGEST ON *ALAṄKĀRAS*

SHARMILA BAGCHI*

The *Kriyākalpa*[1] or *Alaṅkāraśāstra* has been a very popular and interesting subject to poeticians and scholars, right from Bhāmaha (8th century) - the first recognized *Alaṅkāraśāstrī* to Jagannātha (17th century). The very first *Alaṅkāragrantha* - "*Alaṅkārasūtra* of Bhāmaha - mentions 38 *alaṅkāras* including *Anuprāsa* and *Yamaka* - the two *Śabdālaṅkāras*. Many rhetoricians seem to be more interested in explaining the *Arthālaṅkāras* than the *Śabdālaṅkāras* as in later stage of Sanskrit literature, when *Rīti, Rasa, Dhvani* and *Vakrokti- sampradāyas* (schools) came into existence, *artha* became more important. So the number of *Arthālaṅkāras* went on increasing (Bhāmaha - 33, Daṇḍin-34, Ruyyaka-65, Mammaṭa-61, Viśvanātha-77, Appayya Dīkṣita-123, Jagannātha-63 (work incomplete), whereas the *Śabdālaṅkāras* were restricted to a few varieties.

The rhetorical world of later centuries was greatly benefited by the scholars like Appayya Dīkṣiṭa (*Kuvalayānanda, Citramīmāṁsā*) and Jagannātha (*Rasagaṅgādhara*) who tried to update the *Alaṅkāraśāstra*. Appayya Dīkṣita added 17 new *alaṅkāras* to the then existing ones. Jagannātha's work is incomplete. Besides these, there is a long list of known, little-known and unknown scholars who produced works on *alaṅkāras*.

The work *Alaṅkārasāra* is a short and simple work of 121 verses (illustrating different *alaṅkāras*) with a collection of 66 *arthālaṅkāras*. The details or even the mention of this work are untraceable in contemporary poetical works of 19th century or in the New *Catalogus Catalogorum* (NCC). In NCC, Vol VII, we find a reference to another work named "*Alaṅkārasāra*"[*] composed by Bālakṛṣṇa Bhaṭṭa styled 'Tighara', son of Govardhana Bhaṭṭa of Vallabha school (*Alaṅkārasāra*-BORI, XII-32). Cintamaṇi- the author of the present work, seems to be an authority on Sanskrit poetics. His other composition '*Chandassāra*' is a compendium on prosody. Being a poet himself, perhaps, he knew the necessity and

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Journal of the Oriental Institute, Vol. 50, Nos. 1-4, Sept.-June 2000-2001 Issue, pp. 249-279.

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1. "A pre-Bhāmaha name for the *Alaṅkāraśāstra*" - Dr. V. Raghavan, "*Studies on some concepts of the Alaṅkāraśāstra*", p.289

* P.V. Kane has mentioned five '*Alaṅkārasāras*' composed by 5 different scholars (including Bālakṛṣṇa) in '*History of Sanskrit Poetics*' (p.439) but Cintāmaṇi is not mentioned there.

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requirement of numbers of *alaṅkāra* for a poet, so he has selected 66 of them[2].

The beauty of this work is its simplicity. The author gives the definition of an *alaṅkāra* in one or two simple lines (not in verse) and then gives his self-composed examples of that *alaṅkāra*. The same procedure is followed for explaining the varieties (*bhedas*) of *alaṅkāras* also.

The author

In the colophon of the work[3], the name of the author is mentioned as "Cintāmaṇi"- son of 'Jīva', who lived in Kolhapur.

Cintāmaṇi has a glorious family history[4] of scholars and astrologers. He was the fifth descendant in the lineage of 'Ballāla Joshirao (*Mūlapuruṣa*) whose son Daśaratha was patronised by *Tārābāi*- the ruler of Kolhapur - (ruled around 1709 AD) who was the wife of Rājārāma (son of Chatrapati Śivājī). One of the four sons of Daśaratha was also known as Cintāmaṇi who died in 1774 A.D. The present Cintāmaṇi's father 'Jīva' was also a chief court astrologer of Kolhapur's royal family. Though any literary composition of 'Jīva' is not mentioned anywhere, his brother Dāji Jyotirvid[5] (Cintāmaṇi's uncle) was a renowned scholar who has 21 Sanskrit and 25 Prākrit (Marāṭhī) works to his credit. It seems that Dāji Jyotirvid and Cintāmaṇi were contemporary.

Like his ancestors, Cintāmaṇi also was the chief court astrologer in the state of Kolhapur, during the reign of "Śāhu", the fifth descendent of Chatrapati Śivājī. King Śāhu's father was also named Śivāji. Cintāmaṇi has, as it were, dedicated his work *Alaṅkārasāra* to Śāhu as most of his *ślokas* reverentially mention his name or his glory.

The NCC mentions two works of Cintāmaṇi[6]. 1. *Chandassāra* - a work on

2. षट्षष्टयलंकाराः सामान्यतः ॥ - अलंकारसारः Fol. 1a
3. पुर(रो)त्तंसकोल्हा[पु]रस्थप्रजेशप्रलब्धप्रतिष्ठाददृष्टजीवात् ।
   प्रजातेन चिन्तामणिख्यातनाम्ना मया साधुवर्या यथाबुद्धिवेगम् ॥ १ ॥
   विनिर्माय नव्यान्यलंकारयोग्यान्यभिज्ञैकहृद्यानि पद्यानि वक्ष्ये ।
   अलंकारसारेऽत्र* हरे पादयोग्ये क्षणं हृन्निधेयम् ॥ २ ॥
   इति श्रीमज्ज्योतिर्विद्राजकुलतिलकायमानजीवज्ज्योतिर्वित्सूनुचिन्तामणिविरचितोऽलंकारसारः समाप्तः ॥
   (* damaged)
4. Dāji Jyotirvid's *Cetovinodanakāvyam*, Introduction, p.11, ed. Shri P.H. Joshi & Dr. S.Y. Wakankar, 1991
5. *Ibid*, p.12
6. NCC, Vol.7, p.58

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prosody. 2. *Śyāmalābhāṇa* - a one-act dramatic composition, narrating people enjoying Navarātrī festival. The *Alaṅkārasāra* is not mentioned anywhere as a work of Cintāmaṇi which itself proves that this is the one and only copy which was deposited in the custody of the ancestors of Prof. Dr. Jayant Narlikar in Kolhapur. The authorship of the work can not be easily questioned as the style, language, the scholarship echoed in the work and last but not the least, the colophons of the three works give the credit of authorship to Cintāmaṇi. The colophons of all the works somewhat bear similarity in nature[7].

Cintāmaṇi was not only a court-astrologer, grammarian, poetician, but himself a good poet also. All the examples given in *Alaṅkārasāra* are his own compositions which are mostly devoted either to his *Kulārādhya* - Gajānana or his patron-king 'Sāhu'.

The time of Cintāmaṇi can be known by the year mentioned in '*Śyāmalābhāṇa* (*Śaka*-1748 i.e. 1826 A.D.). Dāji Jyotirvid's time was 1800-1855 A.D. and Cintāmaṇi also lived around that period of time.

The Manuscript

Prof. Dr. Jayant Narlikar- the internationally recognised scientist, has donated 14 manuscripts to the Oriental Institute of Baroda (in the year 2002) which were kept in his ancestral house in Kolhapur. The manuscript of the work '*Alaṅkārasāra*' is one of them and seems to be the only existing original ms. The manuscript was a last minute inclusion in the donated mss. by Dr. S.Y. Wakankar, the Dy. Director of the Institute, who carried them all the way from Kolhapur to the Oriental Institute of Baroda.

The condition of the manuscript is pretty bad. The paper used in it, is now brittle and broken in many folios. It seems that the writing work has changed hands with more than one scribe. At some places, writing is not legible at all, many folios are smudged with ink, many scribal mistakes and bad handwritings mar the beauty of the composition. The text, edited on the basis of the *codex unicum*, is presented herewith for the benefit of the interested scholars. Since the manuscript is almost corrupt and damaged at many places,

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7. छन्दःसार - श्रीमत्कोल्हापुरवसतिना तत्स्थराजाश्रितेन
ज्योतिर्विद्राट्शुभकुलभुवायं मया बालतुष्यै ।
हृद्यैः पद्यैर्लघुभिरुरुभिर्निर्मितः स्वर्णभूषे
छन्दःसारः सुजनमनसां भूरितोषाय भूयात् ॥ 50 ॥ (Bomb. Uni. 130)

श्यामलाभाण- इति श्रीमज्ज्योतिर्विद्राजकुलतिलकायमानजीवज्योतिर्वित्सूनुचिन्तामणिविरचितः श्यामलाभाणः समाप्तिमगमत् ॥ (d.1826 AD) BBRAS, 1302) & (Oriental Institute Baroda - 27304)

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an attempt is made to present it in the most perfect form as far as possible with some silent corrections, emendations and additions at some places. The editor is indebted to Prof. Dr. M.L. Wadekar and Dr. S.Y. Wakankar for their constant guidance and suggestions for the same. Inspite all these obstacles, still whatever is available as text, is enough to prove the scholarship of the author.

The physical description of the ms. is as follows-

Name of the work - '*Alaṅkārasāra*'

Acc. No.	-	28555
Sub.	-	*Alaṅkāra*
Lang.	-	Sanskrit
Script	-	*Devanāgarī*
Folios	-	17
Material	-	Paper
Size	-	21 x 10 cms.
Source	-	Dr. Jayant Narlikar Collection Kolhapur/Pune.

The exact *granthasaṁkhyā* of the work can not be decided as the No. of lines and *akṣaras* (syllables) are not equal. From 1a to 5b - each side of the folio has 11 lines and 24 *akṣaras* in it. Then from folio 6a to 15a - sometimes there are 14 or 15 or even 16 lines on each side and 32 to 35 *akṣaras* in them. Then till the end (folio 17) the nos. of lines is stable at 13 with 33 *akṣaras*.

The manuscript lacks neatness. The punctuation marks are followed religiously, but, at some places, the scribe seems to be confused with the serial number of *ślokas*.

The text

The *Alaṅkārasāra* is a compilation of 66 *arthālaṅkāras* with all the examples composed by the author himself. He has selected 11 out of the 24 *śuddha arthālaṅkāras* and 18 out of 24 *ubhayālaṅkāras* given by Bhoja. But he totally avoids *Śabdālaṅkāras*. From the work, it is clear that he has based his work on Appayya Dīkṣita's *Kuvalayānanda* as 63 out of 66 *alaṅkāras* are from it. Ofcourse, he has collected 48 out of Mammaṭa's 61, 56 out of Viśvanātha's 77, 50 out of Ruyyaka's 75, 51 out of Jagannātha's 70 *arthālaṅkāras*. Out of the traditional 38 *arthālaṅkāras* named by Bhāmaha, 24 *alaṅkāras* are included in this work. As Daṇḍin followed Bhāmaha in naming the *arthālaṅkaras*, so Cintāmaṇi has taken 22 out of 34 of Daṇḍin's *arthālaṅkāras*. Cintāmaṇi's contribution to *alaṅkāraśāstra* can be said to

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be the 3 new *arthālaṅkāras* - *Citra*[8], *Samākhyā* and *Udāharaṇa*, though the last named is given by Jagannātha[9] only.

In the beginning of the work, he makes it clear that he is composing this work for the easy comprehension of the common man.[10] To achieve this purpose, he has left out some of the popular *alaṅkāras* which are accepted by others (like *Uttara, Bhāvika, Kāraṇamālā, Samādhi, Sāmānya, Udātta*). Nowhere in the work does he give any reason for leaving out these *alaṅkāras*. He had followed Appayya Dīkṣita for writing only about *arthālaṅkāras*, but, he may not have agreed with him about the large number of *alaṅkāras*. So he wrote a concise compilation of only 66 *alaṅkāras*. He has mentioned the not so popular *alaṅkāras* like *Upamāna* (only Bhoja and Appayya Dīkṣita have mentioned), *Śabda* (Appayya Dīkṣita and Mammaṭa have mentioned), *Mudrā* (only Appayya Dīkṣita) and *Pratyakṣa* (Bhoja and Appayya Dīkṣita have mentioned). The 66 *alaṅkāras* mentioned in this work are -

Upamā, Ananvaya, Upameyopamā, Pratīpa, Rūpaka, Pariṇāma, Ullekha, Smṛti, Bhrānti, Sandeha, Apahnuti, Utprekṣā, Atiśayokti, Tulyayogitā, Dīpaka, Prativastūpamā, Dṛṣṭānta, Nidarśanā, Khyāti, Vyatireka, Sahokti, Vinokti, Samāsokti, Parikara, Śleṣa, Aprastutapraśaṁsā, Paryāyokta, Vyājastuti, Ākṣepa, Virodhābhāsa, Vibhāvanā, Viśeṣokti, Asaṅgati, Viṣama, Sama, Vicitra, Ekāvalī, Adhika, Anyonya, Viśeṣa, Vyāghāta, Sāra, Paryāya, Pratyanīka, Arthāpatti, Kāvyaliṅga, Arthāntaranyāsa, Sambhāvanā, Mithyādhyavasati, Mudrā[11]*, Ratnāvalī, Tadguṇa, Atadguṇa, Mīlita, Unmīlīta, Citra, Vyājokti, Lokokti, Vakrokti, Svabhāvokti, Hetu, Samākhyā, Udāharaṇa, Pratyakṣa, Anumāna, Upamāna, Śabda.*

His *Citrālaṅkāra* is different from the *Śabdālaṅkāra* of the same name[12] though the

8. The *Citrālaṅkāra* mentioned here is different from the *Śabdālaṅkāra* called *'Citra'*.

9. सामान्येन निरूपितस्यार्थस्य सुखप्रतिपत्तये तदेकदेशं निरूप्य तयोरवयवावयविभाव उच्यमान उदाहरणम् ॥
रसगङ्गाधरः, द्वितीयम् आननम्, p.280

10. सुसुखबोधायाल्पधियां वक्ष्येऽलंकारसारमतिसुलभम् ॥ १ ॥
अलंकारसारः, Fol. 1a

11. Bhoja accepts *'Mudrā'* as *Śabdālaṅkāra* and defines it -
साभिप्रायस्य वाक्ये यद्वचसो विनिवेशनम् ।
मुद्रां तां मुत्प्रदायित्वात् काव्यमुद्राविदो विदुः ॥
Śṛṅgāraprakāśa, ed. V.Raghavan p.327
Appayya Dīkṣita calls *'Mudrā'* an *arthālaṅkāra* and defines -
सूच्यार्थसूचनं मुद्रा प्रकृतार्थपरैः पदैः ।
नितम्बगुर्वी तरुणी दृग्युग्मविपुला च सा ॥ १३९ ॥ *Kuvalayānanda*, p.232

12. (121) तच्चित्रं यत्र वर्णानां खड्गाकृतिहेतुता ॥ ८५ ॥ *काव्यप्रकाश*, नवम उल्लास, p.229

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poetic element '*Citra*' is common to both. Here he explains it as -

प्रश्नाभिन्नमुत्तराभिन्नं वा उत्तरं चित्रम् । यथा -
का सारवती प्रथिता भूमिः कमलविकासयन्त्यर्कः ।
सकलसुरप्रीतिकरं किं कुसुमं किं पुरं च करवीरम् ॥ १०६ ॥

Most of his examples are either addressed to God or his patron king. 'Śāhu'. Nature (*prakṛti*) also has a good share in examples. Then some beautiful examples of *Śṛngāra* can be noted. A beautiful example of *Ananvaya* in *Sragdharā* metre is worth- noticing -

गङ्गे हर्यङ्घ्रिसङ्गे चलदमलमरुच्चालितोर्मिप्रतुङ्गे
भङ्गे दक्षासि तुङ्गाशुभनिकरगिरे रङ्गयेषां प्रसङ्गे ।
मज्जत्यङ्गं तरङ्गे तव जननि नराः शेरते ते भुजङ्गे
नृत्यन्तीशोत्तमाङ्गे त्वमिव विजयसे त्वं धरा स्रग्धरायाम् ॥ ३ ॥

The language of the composition is lucid and flowing. The poet has a good comand over language which is quite obvious for him for being a grammarian, but, influence of Marāṭhī language is visible at some places.

It seems that the purpose of composing this work was not to establish a new school of *Alaṅkāras (arthālaṅkāras)* or to recognise only some of the *alaṅkāras* from the traditional fold, because nowhere in the work, he mentions other *ālaṅkārikas* or tries to refute their views. Along with the main purpose of making '*Alaṅkāras*' easily understandable for '*alpadhiyām*', Cintāmaṇi probably composed it also to satisfy his creative impulses and to pay his respect to his *ārādhya* 'Gajānana' and the king 'Śāhu' - his patron. The 66 *alaṅkāras* offered him the platform and helped him to fulfil his desire to be known as a scholar-poet who wants the layman not only to understand but also to relish the poetic compositions.

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अलंकारसारः (Text)

श्रीगणेशाय नमः ।

शरणं सकलार्थानां चरणं संस्मृत्य सुमुखदेशिकयोः ।
सुसुखबोधायाल्पधियां वक्ष्येऽलङ्कारसारमतिसुलभम् ॥1॥

उपमानन्वयोपमेयोपमाप्रति(ती)परूपकपरिणामोल्लेखस्मृतिभ्रान्तिसन्देहापह्नुत्युत्प्रेक्षातिशयोक्ति-तुल्ययोगितादीपकप्रतिवस्तूपमादृष्टान्तनिदर्शनाव्यतिरेकसहोक्तिविनोक्तिसमासोक्तिपरिकरश्लेषाप्रस्तुतप्रशंसा-पर्यायोक्तव्याजस्तुत्याक्षेपविरोधाभासविभावनाविशेशो(षो)क्त्यसङ्गतिविषमसमविचित्राधिकान्योन्यविशेष-व्याघातैकावलीसारपर्यायप्रत्यनीकार्थापत्तिकाव्यलिङ्गार्थान्तरन्यासंभावनामिथ्याध्यवसतिमुद्रारत्नावलीतद्गुणातद्गुण-मीलितोन्मी[लि]तचित्रव्याजोक्तिलोकोक्तिवक्रोक्तिस्वभावोक्तिहेतुसमाख्योदाहरणप्रत्यक्षानुमानोपमानशब्दाः । षट्षष्ट्यलङ्काराः सामान्यतः ।

तत्र **उपमानोपमेययोश्चमत्कारकातिसादृश्यमुपमा** । उपमानमारोप्यमानं चन्द्रादि । उपमेयं कार्यं मुखादि । सा द्विविधा पूर्णा लुप्ता च ।

उपमानोपमेयसमानधर्मवाचकानामुपादाने **पूर्णा** । एतेषां मध्ये एकस्य द्वयोस्त्रयाणां वा लोपे **लुप्ता** । आद्या यथा-

सततं दृढक(कं)चुकावृतौ कथमप्याप्लवकालमाप्तवान् ।
अत एव तिरस्कृतोऽप्यसावनुरागीव न मुञ्चति स्तनौ ॥1॥

अत्रोपमानमनुरागी । उपमेयमेतत्पदप्रतिपाद्य आर्द्राञ्चलः । समानधर्मः स्तनामोचनम् । इव वाचकम् । द्वितीया यथा -

महालक्ष्मीस्वर्णाम्बुजहृदयगौराङ्गलतिके
महाकालीवाण्यौ तिमिरचयशुभ्रांशुरुचिरे ।
भवेतां मे भूत्यै धनदयमदिग्भागनिलये
ययोर्मध्ये स्वर्णक्षितिधरतटीवद्विजयसे ॥2॥

अत्र स्वर्णाम्बुजहृदयमिव गौरेति समासे वाचकस्य इवपदस्य लोपः एवमन्यानि तु **चन्द्रालोकादिभ्य** ऊह्यानि । स्वर्णक्षिति[ध]रतटीवद्विजयसे इत्यत्र धर्मलोपः ।

द्वितीयसदृशव्यवच्छेदफलकमेकोपमानोपमेयकं सादृश्यमनन्वयः ।

यथा-

गङ्गे हर्यङ्गसङ्गे चलदमलमरुच्चालितोर्मिप्रतुङ्गे
भङ्गे दक्षासि तुङ्गाशुभनिकरगिरे रङ्गयेषां प्रसङ्गे ।
मज्जत्यङ्गं तरङ्गे तव जननि नराः शेरते ते भुजङ्गे
नृत्यन्तीशोत्तमाङ्गे त्वमिव विजयसे त्वं धरा स्रग्धरायाम् ॥3॥

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अत्र गङ्गायां गङ्गासादृशवर्णनं द्वितीयसदृशव्यवच्छेदकं फलति ।

तृतीयसदृशव्यवच्छेदफलकं परस्परं द्वयोः सादृश्यमुपमेयोपमा ।

यथा-

स्वर्द्रुरिव राजतेऽसौ राजा राजेव राजते स्वर्द्रुः ।
नन्दनमिव **करवीरं करवीरमिवापि** नन्दनं भाति ॥4॥

अत्र राजकल्पवृक्षयोः **करवीर**नन्दनयोश्च परस्परवर्णनं तृतीयसदृशव्यवच्छेदं फलति ।

प्रतीपं पञ्चविधम् । प्रसिद्धोपमानस्योपमेयत्वं प्रथमम् । उपमेयोपमानयोरन्यतरनिष्ठकिञ्चिद्गुणादिप्रयुक्तगर्वादे-र्द्वितीयप्रदर्शनेन परिहारो द्वितीयतृतीये । उपमित्यनिष्पत्तिश्चतुर्थमुपमानकैमर्थ्यं पञ्चमम् । क्रमेणोदाहरणानि -

त्वद्वदनसदृशकान्तिं विधुं पिधातुं कृतोद्यमं मेघैः ।
कलये विधिं नु विरहे मानिनि सुहृदं प्रतीपं च ॥5॥

अत्र त्वद्वदनसदृशकान्तिं विधुमित्यनेन प्रसिद्धोपमाने चन्द्रे उपमेयत्वम् । द्वितीयं यथा-

किं वहसि गर्वमतुलं शाहुनृपालं(ल) वहामि भूमिमति(मिति) ।
दिशि दिशि पश्य महान्तस्त्वमिव वहन्तो वसन्ति दिक्करिणः ॥6॥

अत्राहमेक एव भुवो धर्तेति गर्वस्योपमेयीभूतराजनिष्ठस्याष्टौ दिग्गजान् भूधारकान् प्रदर्श्य परिह(हा)रः ।

तृतीयं यथा-

किं दृप्यस्यमृतांशो जगतामानन्दजनयिताऽहमिति ।
भुवि भूरि भान्ति भवता सदृशानि नृपालशाहुचरितानि ॥7॥

अत्रा[ह]मेक एवानन्दजनयितेति गर्वस्योपमानीभूतचन्द्रनिष्ठस्य शाहुनृपतिचरितरूपमनेकमानन्ददातृ प्रदर्श्य परिहारः । चतुर्थं यथा-

सततोदितेन सकलाह्लादकरेण त्रिलोकविसरेण ॥
तव यशसा नृप साधो साम्यं शशिनः समामनन्त्यबुधाः ॥8॥

अत्राबुधत्वोक्त्या उपमित्त्या निष्पत्तिः । पञ्चमं यथा-

विदिता ननु वेधसोऽधुना नृप कालि(ल)त्रितयज्ञता यतः ।
अविचार्य यशः प्रतापयोस्तव भवनं व्यतनोद्विधूष्णगू ॥9॥

अत्र विधिनिन्दया यशःप्रतापयोश्चन्द्रार्ककार्यकारित्वद्योतनेन तत्कैमर्थ्यम् ।

उपमेये उपमानारोपो रूपकम् । तद्द्विधम् । अभेदरूपकम् । तादूप्यरूपकं च । तत्राद्यं यथा -

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कपाटविस्तीर्ण इहेश नीले पुरा हरे ते हृदि यद्यभासन्* ।
सुवर्णभूषा अधुना तथापि स्वर्णामले लीनरुचो भवन्ति ॥10॥

अत्र प्रकृते राज्ञि हरयिति सम्बोधनाद्विष्णोरभेदारोपः । द्वितीयं -

सर्वाह्लादकरे सदोदयपरे क्षीणेतरे भास्वरे
त्रैलोक्यप्रसरत्करे तव यशश्चन्द्रे परे राजति ।
व्यर्थं जीवितमित्यनल्पमतिना मत्वा **शहाजीप्रभो**
पीतं चन्द्रमसा विषं तदधुना लोके कलङ्कायते ॥11॥

अत्रापरत्वोक्त्या यशश्चन्द्रे प्रसिद्धचन्द्रभेदमाविष्कृत्य चन्द्रकृतवैयर्थ्यज्ञानपूर्वकविषपानवर्णनेन तत्कार्यकारित्व-प्रदर्शनात्ताद्रूप्यारोपः ।

विषयिणो विषयस्वरूपेण प्रकृतार्थोपयोगः परिणामः ।

राजन् यशःसुधांशुस्ते कराज्जातः समुद्रतः ॥
व्याप्नोत्यानन्दयति च त्रिलोकीं युगपत्करैः ॥12॥

अत्र विषयिणः सुधांशोर्विषयरूपयशोरूपतापत्त्यैव युगपत्त्रिलोकीव्यापना[न]न्दजकत्वसम्भवः न स्वात्मना । स्वतस्तस्य विरहिदुःखदुःखात् ।

उल्लेखो द्विधः । **एकस्य बहुभिर्बहुधोल्लेखनं प्रथमः । एकस्यैकेनैव विषयभेदाद्बहुधोल्लेखनं द्वितीयः ।** आद्यो यथा-

निर्मर्यादमरातिराजविषयं निष्पेषयन्भूपतिः
शाहुः संयति कांदिशीकनृपतिव्रातेष्वयं प्रेक्षितः ।
कैश्चित्क्रुद्धमहापिशाचपतिरित्यन्यैर्महाकाल इ-
त्यन्यैः क्ष्मापतिभिर्महाप्रलयकृद्रर्तोऽग्निभासामिति ॥13॥

अत्र एकस्यैव राज्ञोऽनेकैः प्रत्यर्थिभिरनेकधोल्लेखनम् ।

द्वितीयो यथा-

गले ह्रस्वः श्रुत्योरिति विपुल आस्ये गजपतिः
विशालो नासायामपि च जठरे तुन्दिलि(ल)तरः ।
कृपापूर्णश्चित्ते वयसि लघुरानन्दजनकः
चिरं चेतस्याविर्भवतु नितरां कोऽप्यरुणिमा ॥14॥

अत्रैकेनैव गृहीत्रा एकस्यैव गणपतेः कण्ठश्रवणाद्यनेकविषयभेदाद्बहुधोल्लेखनं कृतम् ।

सदृशज्ञानप्रयोज्यं स्मरणं स्मृतिमान् । यथा –

* भासम् । भासन् - Marathi influence on the writing

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त्वय्यापाते द्विषतां खण्डितुमुद्दण्डभुजकण्डूः ।
रणं भुवि शाहुनृपाल स्मृत(ति)पथमवगाहते न करयद्यमः ॥15॥

अत्र शत्रुविशसनप्रवृत्तमतिक्रुद्धराजानमवलोक्य यमस्मरणम् ।

सदृशधार्मिकधर्म्येतरभ्रमो भ्रान्तिमान् । यथा-

अम्बुध्वद्वा कदम्बाप्लवनसमुदिते शङ्खरूपाः कुरूपाः
अन्योन्यस्यापकर्षन्त्यविदितशिवजे जह्नुजे यन्मिनोमि ।

भ्रान्त्या फेनस्य चन्द्रे गरलमपि मृदो नेत्रमब्जोदकस्य(?)
व्यालं नालस्य भस्माम्बुजततिरजसस्तोयनीव्याः कपर्दम् ॥16॥

अत्र चन्द्रादौ फेनादीनां भ्रमः । यथा वा -

"सजवमलिं गणेषु जम्बुमोहात्करकमलेषु दिधीर्षमाङ्गनाभिः ।
दरमपि निहितेषु मोहाद्युगपदि(द)मपि पतति पङ्कजानाम् ॥17॥

अत्र परस्परभ्रमात्पूर्वस्माद्विशेषः ।

सदृश[धा]र्मिकनानाकोटिकयोगाद्विज्ञानं संशयः । यथा-

सहसा पुरमागतं नृप त्वां वीक्ष्याखिलयोषितो ययुः ।
मदनः किमु वा भिषग् दिवः किमु वा दिव्ययुवेति संशयः ॥18॥

अत्र संशयः स्पष्टः ।

अपह्नवोऽपह्नुतिः । सा च अन्यधर्मारोपार्थं निह्नवे । अन्यत्रारोपार्थनिह्नवे । भ्रान्तिनिह्नवे । तथ्यनिह्नवे । कैतवादि-पदोर्निह्नवेऽपि संभवति । तत्र **अन्यधर्मारोपार्थनिह्नवे** । यथा -

इदं न शशिमण्डलं न च कलङ्कगोलोऽन्तरा
वयस्यवरं(र) किन्त्वसौ धवरुची रमानायकः ।
कुतश्चिदपि कौतुकात् स्फटिकनिर्मितं निर्मलं
विमानमधिरुह्य भूवलयकौतुकं वीक्षते ॥19॥

अत्र अन्यस्य विमानस्य हरेश्च धर्मारोपार्थं चन्द्रत्वकलङ्कत्वयोर्निह्नवे । यथा-

त्रिभुवनजठरा विधिहरहरय इति सुखं वदन्तु मतिहीनाः ।
मम तु मते गणराजो यस्माल्लम्बोदरत्वमिव भाति ॥20॥

अत्र मतिहीनत्वोक्त्या प्रतीयमानो ब्रह्मादिगतत्रिभुवनजठरत्वानिह्नवो गजानने आरोपार्थम् ।

भ्रान्तिनिह्नवे । यथा -

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सखि पश्य जगद्विचित्रमेतत् सहकारेष्वपि भान्ति जाम्बवानि ।
अयि मधुरमरन्दलुब्धमेतन् मधुपकुलं न हि जाम्बवानि मुग्धे ॥21॥

अत्र सख्युक्तौ भ्रान्तिनिह्नवः । **तथ्यनिह्नवे** । यथा-

अपि कुट्टिमहर्म्यमूर्धनि द्रुतवद्धारमन्तरस्थिताम् ।
सहसा स्पृशदध्वनावृत्तेः किमु कान्तिः सखि न क्षपाधिपः ॥22॥

अत्र कयापि मानवत्या स्वसखीं प्रति निगद्यमानं स्वकान्तवृत्तान्तं श्रुत्वा कान्तः कं इति शङ्कितवतीमन्यां प्रति निरीक्ष्य मानव इति तथ्यनिह्नवः ।

कैतवादिपदोर्निह्नवे । यथा-

निर्मायाखिलशारदेन्दुवलयं यावन्निवेशोद्यतः
तावद्धक्त्रकृतिः स्मृता तव ततस्तेनैव साऽऽपादिता ।
धात्राथ प्रसमीक्ष्य योऽमृतकरैर्निःसारितोऽङ्कोऽन्तरात्
सोऽयं ते वदनं ततो नरपतेः श्मश्रुच्छलाद्राजते ॥23॥

अत्र छलपदेन श्मश्रुनिह्नवः ॥

उत्प्रेक्षा त्रिविधा । वस्तूत्प्रेक्षाहेतूत्प्रेक्षाफलोत्प्रेक्षाभेदात् । तत्रान्यस्य वस्तुनः । **अन्यवस्तुधर्मसम्बन्धिनिमित्तेन तत्तादात्म्यसम्भावनं वस्तूत्प्रेक्षा । अहेतोर्हेतुभावेन सम्भावनं हेतूत्प्रेक्षा । अफलस्य फलत्वेन सम्भावनं फलोत्प्रेक्षा ।** आद्या यथा -

अलीकं मे कुर्याद्भवमिदमलीकं तव शी(शि)वे
महाक्रुध्यत्कोल्हासुरमथनसक्ते सतिलकम् ।
मुखच्छायामायामुकुरवरबिम्बे प्रतिफलात्
प्रतिच्छाये [दृष्टि]र्जयति मुकुटस्यार्धशशिनः ॥24॥

अत्र ललाटस्यार्धचन्द्राकारत्व-तत्प्रतिकूलवृत्तित्वरूपधर्मसम्बन्धेन गम्यमानेन निमित्तेन वदनदर्पणप्रतिफलन्मुकुरस्यार्धशशिप्रतिच्छायोत्प्रेक्षा । द्वितीया यथा-

निःशङ्कमन्धतमःपाणिसमूलघातं
नूनं हतेति रविणा प्रहिताः करौघाः ॥
प्रायः कृतात्मकरणाः कमलोदराणि
मच्छङ्क्यावमिलितानि विदारयन्ति ॥25॥

अत्र किरणकृतकम[ल]विदारणे तमःशङ्क्या हेतुत्वाभावेऽपि हेतुत्वोत्प्रेक्षा ।

तृतीया यथा-

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अज्ञातागमनिर्णया जडधियस्तुल्यत्वभाजोऽपि नः
श्रैष्ठ्याश्रैष्ठ्यजुषस्तथैकहृदया भिन्नान्वृथा मन्वते ।
इत्यावेदयितुं स्वकीयसमतैकात्मत्वमेतानिव
श्रीब्रह्माच्युतशङ्कराः करुणया दत्तात्मना जज्ञिरे ॥26॥

अत्र दत्तावतारे स्वसमताड्या(द्या)वेदनस्य फलत्वाभावेऽपि फलत्वोत्प्रेक्षा ।

एषा त्रिविधाऽपि इव नूनं ध्रुवं मन्ये जाने अवेमि ऊहे तर्कयामि शङ्के उत्प्रेक्षे इत्याद्युत्प्रेक्षाप्रतिपादकशब्दानामुपादाने वाच्या तदभावे लुप्ता । यथा-

मूलालङ्घितनागराजनिलयः शाखातटीतर्जित-
क्षोणीविस्तृतिरस्ति निस्तुलशिखोच्छायोऽत्र चिञ्चातरुः ।
यत्रारोपित एष मन्दपवनाधूतोऽवधूतध्वजः
पाताशङ्कितया धियाम्बरमयोऽप्यल्पेतरद्वेपते ॥27॥

अत्र इवादीनामभावाल्लुप्तोत्प्रेक्षा ।

अतिशयोक्तिस्तु रूपकातिशयोक्ति-भेदकातिशयोक्ति-सम्बन्धातिशयोक्ति-[असम्बन्धातिशयोक्ति]-प्रक्रमातिशयोक्ति- चपलातिशयोक्ति-अत्यन्तातिशयोक्ति-भेदात्सप्तविधा ॥

तत्र विषया(यि)णि विषयस्य निगरणं रूपकातिशयोक्तिः । निगरणविषयस्य स्वशब्देनोल्लेखनं विना विषयिवाचक-शब्देन ग्रहणम् । यथा-

बिम्बं स्वर्भानुनात्तं हिममहस इतः पद्मयुग्मात्स्रवन्तीं
आशैलं वारिधारां दिनमणिदुहितुः स्वर्गनाड्या समेताम् ।
आकाशे दीर्घवापी तदुपरि विमलां सूक्ष्मजम्बालवल्लीं
दृष्ट्वा त्वद्देहवल्लचां दृशि भयमभवन्मे गृहं गच्छ शीघ्रम् ॥28॥

अत्र मुखादीनां विषयाणां चन्द्रादिभिर्विषयिभिर्निगरणम् । एषा सापि(प)ह्नवापि सम्भवति । यथा-

सूर्याचन्द्रमसौ लतापरिसरे भाते न तारापथे
सा चास्ते मलयाद्रिभूरुहमहास्तम्भेन वा कानने ।
तस्यापि स्थितपूरके निवसतिः कल्पद्रुमे नालये
सोऽत्र श्रीकरवीर एव नितरां वर्वर्त्ति नो नन्दने ॥29॥

अत्र करवालोद्भवे प्रतापय[शः]शशी एव सूर्याचन्द्रमसावित्यतिशयोक्तिः आकाशस्थौ तौ न सूर्याचन्द्रमसा-वित्यपह्नुतिगर्भा । अभेदेऽपि तदन्यत्वे भेदवर्णनं भेदकातिशयोक्तिः । यथा-

अन्यैव राजन्वादान्यरीतिरन्यै[व] शून्यता ।
अन्यैव शैली धैर्यस्य विप्रशात्रवयुत्सुते ॥30॥

अत्र लोकप्रसिद्धवदान्यत्वाभेदेऽपि भेदो वर्णितः ।

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असम्बन्धेऽपि सम्बन्धवर्णनं सम्बन्धातिशयोक्तिः ।। यथा -

श्रीमच्छाहुक्षितीश प्रददति भवति प्राह गौरी गिरीशं
किं स्याद्बन्धोर्ममाद्याम्बुधिकृतवसतेर्वासरायुर्यतासौ ।
मा भैषीर्देवि दुर्गे मघवमुखसुराः स्थानमन्यद्विधातुं
मुक्ताः शक्ताः कथं ते वद रिपुकदने मेरुनाशाधिमग्नाः ।।31।।

अत्र पार्वत्या राजवितरणजनितसमुद्रशोषणसम्भावनाप्रयुक्तबन्धुना शङ्कया असम्बन्धेऽपि सम्बन्धो वर्णितः । **सम्बन्धेऽपि असम्बन्धवर्णनमसम्बन्धातिशय(यो)क्तिः ।** यथा -

चिन्ताहर्तरि कार्यकर्तरि जगज्जालस्य विश्वम्भरा-
भारोद्धर्तरि भर्तरि त्वयि विभो प्रत्यक्षदृश्ये भुवि ।
के वा देवतरून्गुरूनपि महाग्रावाश्च चिन्तामणीन्
देवाँश्चापि परोक्षतामुपगतान् राजन् भजेयुर्जनाः ।।32।।

अत्र देवद्रुमादीनां भजनसम्बन्धेऽपि असम्बन्धो वर्णितः ।

कार्यकारणयोः साहित्यवर्णनं प्रक्रमातिशयोक्तिः । यथा-

कृपापरिप्लुता दृष्टिस्तव वृष्टिश्च सम्पदाम् ।
युगपद्विदुषां मूर्ध्नि पपात धरणीपते ।।33।।

अत्र कार्यकारणयोः सर्वसम्पद्वृष्टिकृपापरिप्लुतदृष्ट्याः सहत्वं वर्णितम् । **हेतुप्रसक्त्या कार्यवर्णनं चपलातातिशयोक्तिः ।** यथा -

इच्छति हयमधिरोढुं शाहुनृपाल त्वयि प्रतिपन्नृपाः ।
पितृपतिपुरीमवाप्ता महतामिच्छानुगानि कार्याणि ।।34।।

अत्र हयारोहणेच्छयैव शत्रुनाशः ।

कार्यकारणयोः पौर्वापर्यव्यतिक्रमोऽत्यन्तातिशयोक्तिः । यथा -

आदौ शस्त्रनिकन्तवैरिपिशिता स्रक्पूरधावच्छिवा
नृत्यद्भैरवभूतभैरवगणा आसन्समिद्भूमयः ।
पश्चादुद्धतयुद्धकोविदमहायोद्धातिधावद्भयः
क्रोधाक्षिप्रखरोऽत्र सद्धरणितः प्राप्तः शहाजीनृपः ।।35।।

प्रकृतानामप्रकृतानामेव वा एकधर्मान्वयस्तुल्ययोगिता । तत्र प्रकृतानां यथा-

लीनाः पक्षिगणाः स्वनीडनिलयेष्वम्भःस्वधः कर्दमे
मीनाः पीनहिमे हिमेतररुचा शीर्षे गते स्त्रीजनाः ।

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नानामोहनमन्दिरेषु पवनाः सत्तालवृन्तेष्विला-
पालव्रातकरेष्विमानि धरणीपांसु स्फुलिङ्गेषु च ॥36॥

अत्र मध्याह्नस्य वर्णने तदितरकार्याणां तदीयत्वेन वर्ण्यानां पक्षिमीनादीनां नीडकर्दमादिषु लयनरूपैकक्रियान्वयः । **अप्रस्तुतानाम्** । यथा-

त्वयि समरभुवं समागते प्रतिपक्षक्षयकारिणीश्वर ।
सुरगृध्रपिशाचयोषितां युगपत्स्पृन्दं समावृणोति मुत् ॥37॥

अत्र राजवर्णने प्रस्तुते अप्रस्तुतानां सुराद्यङ्गनानां हर्षरूपैकगुणान्वयः । एषा च हिताहितयोर्वृत्तितौल्ये गुणोत्कृष्टे समीकरणे च संभवति । यथा-

हितमहितमपि प्रकुर्वतां सततं क्षेमकरीव राजते ।
प्रकृतिः किल साधवी भुवि द्रुमपद्मेषु समवभैदवी ॥38॥

यथा वा-

जन्मस्थानं मुरारेः पदकमलमलङ्कारि मूर्धा निवास-
स्थानं, भीष्मः कुमारः सकलकुरुगुरुर्मुक्तयस्ते कुमार्यः ।
क्रीडस्थानं प्रयागः सततसहचरीं सूर्यकन्यां सरस्वा-
न्भर्ता भक्तोऽहमस्माज्जगति सुरसरित्कास्ति धन्या त्वदन्या ॥39॥

अत्राद्ये हिताहितयोः क्षमाकरणाद् वृत्तितौल्यम् । द्वितीये तु कविना स्वात्मगुणोत्कृष्टैर्हरिचरणशिवमूर्धभीष्मादिभिर्गङ्गासम्बन्धित्वेन समीकृतः ।

प्रकृतानामप्रकृतानां चैकधर्मान्वयो दीपकम् । यथा-

*x x x x x x x x x x x x x x x
x x x x x x x x x x x x x x x ।
x x x x मूर्तिरम्बररविणा राजवरेण मेलिनी
दयया नृपतिः कुचा नवैः सुदृशां भान्ति नखक्षतैरपि ॥40॥

अत्र प्रकृतानां कुचानामप्रकृतानां शिवमूर्त्यादीनां चैकभानरूपक्रियान्वयः ।

वस्तुप्रतिवस्तुभावापन्नैकधर्मकवाक्यार्थद्वयं प्रतिवस्तूपमा ।

वस्तुप्रतिवस्तुभावस्तु वस्तुतो भिन्नयोरप्युपमानोपमेयधर्मयोः पृथग्भिन्नशब्देन निर्देशः । यथा-

असदध्वन्यभिप्रवृत्ता निवर्तते जातुचिन्न मूढमतिः ।
न हि रथ्यानिर्झरणी निम्नपथादपमुखं वहति ॥41॥

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* Folio broken, as a result, two and half lines of the *Śloka* are missing.

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अत्र निवर्त्तनापमुखावहनयोर्वाक्यद्वयगतयोर्धर्मयोर्वस्तुतत्कार्थत्वेनाभिन्नयोरपि निवर्ततेऽपमुखं वहति इति भिन्नशब्दाभ्यां निदर्शनाद्वस्तुभावः । बिम्बप्रतिबिम्बभावापन्नैकधर्मयोः परस्परसादृश्यादभिन्नयोः पृथङ्निर्देशः । यथा-

स्यान्मेऽपि मन्दधिषणस्य वचो बुधानां तोषदायि भृशमात्तगुरूक्तिदण्डम् ।
सम्प्राप्तसूर्यकिर[णा]हिति पङ्कजन्म नालं भवेदलिकुला[य]मधु प्रदातुम् ।।42।।

अत्र सन्तोषमधुनोर्बिम्बप्रतिबिम्बभावः ।

निदर्शना द्विधा । वाक्यार्थवृत्तिनिदर्शना पदार्थवृत्तिनिदर्शना चेति ।

तत्रोपमेयवाक्यार्थे उपमानवाक्यार्थाभेदारोपे आद्या । यथा-

भुक्तं स्वाराज्यमिन्द्राद्यखिलसुरगणाः स्नेहिता गाहितास्ते
लोके राजेश लोका मधुरिमनिलयः प्राशितश्चिद्रसोऽपि ।
यत्ते मातर्मुरद्विट्पदकमलभुवः स्वर्धुनिः स्वर्गवामा
क्रीडालोलाम्बुजन्मस्रुतमधु[मधु]रं वीक्षितं पीतमम्भः ।।43।।

अत्रोपमेयस्य वाक्यार्थस्य गङ्गापयःपानस्य उपमानवाक्यार्थस्य स्वा[रा]ज्यभोगादेश्च यत्तद्भ्यामैक्यारोपः ।

उपमेयपदार्थे उपमानपदार्थारोपो द्वितीया । यथा-

समुद्गच्छद्व्योम्नि ज्वलदगुरुधूमः क्षितिभृतां
क्षणं मुष्णन्कर्णस्फुरदमलनीलोत्पलरुचम् ।
वितानाद्व्यावृत्तः परिवहभुजा[मा]कृतिरयं
किशोराणां लीलाकलितवसुधानां जलमुचाम् ।।44।।

अत्र अगरुधूमे पदार्थे जलमुग्लीलाया पदार्थारोपः । एषा च क्रिया सद्स[द]र्थबोधनेऽपि सम्भवति । तत्र सद्बोधनम् । यथा -

यदि भवति नरो गुणवान् नीचादपि जीवं तदा लभते ।
इति संकथयन् लोकान्कुम्भः कु(कू)पोदकं पिबति ।।45।।

अत्र कुम्भः स्वयं गुणविशिष्टः सन्नेवात्यन्तनीचादपि कूपाज्जीवनिपानं लभमानस्तया पानक्रियया लोकान्प्रति ''यदि भवति नरो ग(गु)णवान् नीचादपि जीवनं तदा लभत'' इति गुणानां नियतजीवनकत्वरूपं सदर्थबोधाय निबद्धम् । असदर्थबोधने । यथा-

तेजस्विनोऽपि सङ्गात्पराङ्गनाया भवेदधःपातः ।
इति बोधयन्विवस्वान् वरुणाशाया अधः पतति ।।46।।

अत्र विवस्वान्स्वयं वारुणीदिक्संयोगादव्यवहितोत्तरमेव पतनमनुभवन् तया पतनक्रियया अन्योऽपि तेजस्व्यपि पराङ्गनासङ्गादधःपतेदित्यसदर्थबोधं निबधः(द्धः) ।

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उपमानोपमेययोरन्यतरस्य आरोपितकिञ्चिदुणादिप्रयुक्तविशेषो व्यतिरेकः । यथा-

द्विजोत्तमाङ्गं न्यस्याङ्घ्रेर्द्विजाङ्घ्रिन्यस्तमस्तकः ।
राजातिरिच्यते विष्णोर्निहन्तरि हरिप्रियात् ॥47॥

अत्र उपमाननिरूपित- उपमेय विशेषः । यथा वा-

विकचत्वसुगन्धमोदैर्विकरनीरभुवां तवाननम् ।
सममेव भृङ्गाक्षि किंचिद् भजते हंसगणैरपि सेव्यते ॥48॥

अत्र रूपमेव निरूपित उपमाने विशेषः ।

चमत्कारी सहभावः सहोक्तिः । यथा-

जगज्जाले शब्दाः श्रवणमधुराः सन्ति बहवः
परं तेषां मन्ये परममधुरं दुन्दुभिरवम् ।
यदेतेनायातः सह भुवनमातः समभृतां
जगन्मत्यारूढो भवति तव नीराजनविधिः ॥49॥

अत्र नीराजनविधेर्दुन्दुभिरवेण सह सहभावः ।

प्रस्तुतस्य विना शब्दप्रतिपादितोत्कर्षानुत्कर्षौ विनोक्तिः । तत्रोत्कर्षे यथा -

स्वभावरमणीयत्वलसदप्याननं तव ।
विना मानग्रहं मुग्धे धत्ते शोभामलौकिकम् ॥50॥

अत्र वदनस्य मानग्रहं विना शोभाया अलौकिकत्ववर्णनेनोत्कर्षः । अनुत्कर्षे यथा-

तिरस्कृतनिशानाथसौन्दर्यमपि ते मुखम् ।
नानन्दयति मुग्धाक्षि विना कुङ्कुमरेखया ॥51॥

अत्र वदनस्य कुङ्कुमरेखया विना आनन्दजनकत्वाभाववर्णनेनापकर्षः ।

प्रस्तुतवृत्तान्तविशेषणसाधारण्यात्प्रस्तुतवृत्तान्तपरिस्फूर्तिः समासोक्तिः । यथा-

स्वीकृत्यानन्तबन्धानपि विकचमुखान्यानमय्योन्नतानि
नीचानामप्यजस्रं कथमपि दृषदां संप्रविश्योदराणि ।
अन्येषां जीवहेतोरनवरतममी जीवनं साधयन्तो
भूयो भूयो भ्रमन्तो भुवनमित इतो यन्त्रकुम्भा विभान्ति ॥52॥

अत्र यन्त्रकुम्भवृत्तान्ते प्रस्तुते तद्गतानां बन्धमुखनमननीचोदरजीवनादिविशेषणपदानां श्लेषेण साधारण्यादप्रस्तुतानां स्वापमानस्वीकृत्याप्यु[प]जीवनसाधनपराणां महासज्जनानां वृत्तान्तस्य परिस्फूर्तिः । एषा सारूप्यतोऽपि सम्भवति ।

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यथा -

असकृदलघुकम्पितप्रवालद्युति नवमुप्त(?)स सुगन्धि ।
अनुवनं अनुवल्लि वेल्लितोऽयं विहरति मङ्कु गन्धित वायुः ।।53।।

अत्र वायुवर्ण[ने] प्रस्तुते तत्सारूप्यं नानायुवतिषु विहरमाणकामिजनवृत्तान्तप्रतीतिः ।

साभिप्रायविशेषणविशेष्यकत्वं परिकरः । यथा-

मन्ये केशवतो दयाजलनिधे वीरान्महासेनतो
जीवाद्बुद्धिमतो विकृष्य विधिना शेवान्शहाजीनृपः ।
सृष्टोऽयं कथमन्यथावनविधेः प्रत्यर्थिशिक्षाविधेः
प्रैक्षावच्छुतिहारिभाषणविधेरेकासि का स्यादिह ।।54।।

अत्र दयाजलामृतत्त्वादीनि केशवादीनां विशेषणानि तद्वंशोत्पन्ने राज्ञि प्रजापालनशत्रुक्षेपणसभापाण्डित्यसामर्थ्याभिप्रायगर्भाणि । यथा वा -

कल्याणानि तनोतु शंकर उरूण्यागांसि लम्बोदरः
कुक्षौ निक्षिप तान्ममानुपदिशत्वेष त्रयीमूर्तिकः ।
किं चेयं जगदम्बिकाऽपि सहतां दुश्चेष्टितं वेष्टितं
संसारादि्धि वरेण मोचयतु मां श्रीवैनतेयध्वजः ।।55।।

अत्र शङ्करादीनि विशेष्याणि कल्याणदानापराधोदरक्षेपव्यपदेशदुश्चेष्टितैः सह संसारसर्पभयनिवारणसामर्थ्याभिप्रायगर्भाणि ।

नानार्थप्रतिपादकशब्दन्यासः श्लेषः । स त्रिविधः । प्रकृतानेकमात्रविषयः । अप्रकृतमात्रानेकविषयः । प्रकृताप्रकृतानेकविषयश्चेति ।

तत्राद्यो यथा-

शिवप्रेमास्पदं शश्वद्द्विजराजाधिसेवितम् ।
महागजाननं वन्दे स्फुरत्सिन्दूरबन्धुरम् ।।56।।

अत्र 'महागजाननं वन्दे' इति वन्दनीयत्वेन प्रकृतयोरेव पार्वतीवदनगजाननयोः श्लेषः । द्वितीयो यथा-

सद्वंशसम्भवान् राजन् सुपर्वगणसेविनः ।
विना गुणग्रहं लक्ष्यं न योजयसि मार्गणान् ।।57।।

अत्र राजवर्णने प्रस्तुते अप्रकृतयोरेव याचकसायकयोः श्लेषः । तृतीयो यथा -

शश्वन्मालिन्यभाजो बहुतरचपला निर्भरा सारवन्तो
धावन्तो भीमशब्दैः पथि च सुमनसां भीषयन्तोऽध्वलोकान् ।

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अत्यन्ता मानयन्तो द्विजपतिवलयं प्राग्रतो भूयभूयो ।
नक्षत्रौघधं च वेगादतिजडहृदया यान्त्यमी वारिवाहाः ॥58॥

अत्र प्रस्तुतानां जलवाहकजनानामप्रस्तुतानां जलदानां च श्लेषः ।

प्रस्तुतवृत्तान्तावगतिपर्यवसाय्यप्रस्तुतवृत्तान्तवर्णनं अप्रस्तुतप्रशंसा । यथा -

यस्मिन्नुदिते नासीद्येषां तमसां विना गुहाः शरणम् ।
तस्यापि हन्त भानोः प्राप्तस्तद्ग्रसनपर्वसमयोऽद्य ॥59॥

अत्र सूर्यविपद्वृत्तान्तवर्णनं तत्स्वरूपे स्वतेजसा द्वीपान्तरेषु निष्कासितैरपि शत्रुभिः पर्वविशेषेण पराजितस्य नृपतेर्वृत्तान्ते पर्यवस्यति ।

विवक्षितार्थस्य भङ्ग्यन्तरेण प्रतिपादनं पर्यायोक्तम् । भङ्ग्यन्तरं च येन रूपेण विवक्षितोऽर्थस्तदतिरिक्तः प्रकारः । यथा-

यज्ञेशो यदतीतरज्ञनकजा श्वासाय यत्प्राहिणोत्
यत्पुत्राधिपतिर्यदन्तररुचिर्यद्वंशभूषामणिः ।
यन्नामग्रथिताभिधः कुशिकजं यद्भावभाजं ययौ
तां तां मूर्तिमवेहि मन्मथरिपोः श्रीरामचन्द्रः सखे ॥60॥

अत्र शिवस्य पृथिव्यप्तेजोवाय्वाकाशसूर्यचन्द्रयजमानाः अष्टौ मूर्तय इति वक्तव्ये यज्ञेशेत्यादिना भङ्ग्यन्तरेण कथा(थ)नाद्भवति **पर्यायोक्ताऽलंकारः** । इदं च यस्य कस्यचिद्व्याजेन स्वेष्टसाधनेऽपि सम्भवति । यथा-

अयमपहरताद्भवव्यथामिति पदयोः पतितां पुराङ्गनाम् ।
अलमलमिति स स्तनोद्धृतिद्रुतमुत्थापयतीह धूर्तकः ॥61॥

अत्रोत्थापनव्याजेन स्तनमर्दनरूपेष्टसाधनम् ।

स्तुतिनिन्दापर्यवसायिन्यौ निन्दास्तुती व्याजस्तुतिः । यथा-

मुग्धे भूय उदीक्ष्य दर्पणमनालोक्यास्मदादीन कुचौ
नेत्रान्तं वदनं च भूषयसि किं दूष्याणि नानारसैः ।
यैर्मैत्रावरुणेः पिता श्रुतिरसौ राजा द्विजाना[म]पि
क्षिप्तो मानमतीत्य वर्तिभिरुरौ गर्भेऽपमानाम्बुधेः ॥62॥

अत्र जगन्माननीयानामपि मैत्रावरुणिपित्रादीनामपि मानकर्तृत्त्ववर्णनेन स्तनादीनां निन्दा श्लेषया स्थौल्यादिप्रतीत्यास्तुतौ पर्यवस्यति । यथा वा -

साधु साधु खलु x x x* सुसज्जनान्यद्विदूषयसि कारणं विना ।
कस्य वा मलिनिमा अगोचरो यः सुधांशुरवरुध्य तिष्ठति ॥63॥

* Smudged with ink.

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अत्रोत्तरार्धदृष्टान्तेन मलिनिमेव तवापि अयं सज्जनदूषयतेति जगति ख्यातिर्भविष्यतीति निन्दायां पर्यवस्यति।

आक्षेपश्चतुर्विधः। तत्र स्वयमुक्तस्यापि अर्थस्य विचारणया निषेधः प्रथमः। प्रस्तुते किंचिद्विशेषाभिधित्सया वक्तव्यनिषेधो द्वितीयः। प्रकृते किंचिद्विशेषव्यञ्जकमर्थान्तरपर्यवसायि-निषेधाभासविध्याभासान्यतरौ तृतीयचतुर्थौ।

तत्राद्यो यथा-

व्यर्थं कर्णशिबीवदात्ममुकुटौ स्वल्पायुषौ निर्मितौ
राजन्नेवमवीवदद्यदपि तत्सम्यक्कृतं वेधसा।
यत्ते दानसमुद्रसम्भवमहाकीर्तौ शहाजीप्रभो
धावन्त्यामवनौ समक्षमनुजाता प्रथा भो वृथा ॥64॥

अत्र राजानं प्रति कव्युक्तौ यत्ते दानेत्याद्युत्तरार्धगतविचारेण व्यर्थं कर्णेति स्वोक्तपक्षस्य राजन्नेवमित्यादिना सूचितो निषेधः।

द्वितीयो यथा-

विदुषां श्रवसां वितन्वतां बहुतोषं वचसा नरेन्द्र ते।
लवमप्यनुकर्त्तुम*द्य नो सुरपूज्यस्य समुत्सहेत धीः ॥65॥

अत्र वक्तव्यस्य समुदेष्यद्वचो लवानुकरणविषयकगुरूत्साहसस्य निषेधो वर्णनी[य]वचसामननुकरणीयत्व-रूपविशेषमभिधत्ते।

तृतीयो यथा -

राजन् ते न वयं स्तुवीमहि मृगार्थं [यत्]त्समित्याटनं
नानाशस्त्रविनाशितक्षितिभुजां व्रातैः कियद्भी रवौ।
संकोचाच्छशिनोऽपि मण्डलमलं भित्त्वा परां निर्वृतिं
गच्छद्भिर्विहितं महाबिलमिदं लोके कलङ्कायते ॥66॥

अत्र कव्युक्तौ स्तवननिषेधो बाधितत्वादाभासरूपः सन् यथार्थवादितत्त्वे पर्यवस्यन्नानाशस्त्रविनाशितेत्यादि प्रकृतार्थस्य यथार्थत्वरूपं विशेषं व्यनक्ति। चतुर्थो यथा-

गच्छसि चेद्गच्छ द्रुतमलमतिसमयेन वर्धते दिवसः।
न प्राणिनां विधाता वासायाहात्र वत्सराणि शतम् ॥67॥

अत्र यियासन्तं कान्तं प्रति विरहमसहमानायाः कान्तायाः उक्तौ- ''गच्छसि चेद्गच्छेति'' विधिर्बाधितत्वादाभासरूपः सन्नगमननिषेधे पर्यवस्यन्नुत्तरार्धप्रतिपादितमरणरूपं विशेषं व्यनक्ति।

* Smudged with ink.

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[illegible] विरोधे विरोधाभासः । यथा-

[illegible]

[illegible] विरोधः प्रतीयमानत्वेऽपि विरोधस्य कार्यत्वेन [illegible] । तथोर्ध्वमूलसूत्रादिषु प्रतीयेव विरोधपरिहारः ।

द्वितीया ॥ तत्र कारणाभावेऽपि कार्यदर्शने प्रथमा । कारणैकत्वेऽपि कार्यदर्शने द्वितीया । सत्यप्रतिबन्धके कार्यदर्शने तृतीया । अकारणकार्यदर्शने चतुर्थी । विरुद्धकार्यदर्शने पञ्चमी । कार्यान्तरात्पत्तिदर्शने षष्ठी चेति ॥

प्रथमा यथा-

[illegible]
बिन्दूत्क्षिप्तमिवाञ्जनं तिलकितं रक्तं प्रवालाङ्कुरम् ॥
राजन्योऽपि जयश्रियः स्वयमनाहूता विवान्यालयं
राज्ञि त्वय्यसिते सदा मुखमनालिङ्गन्नसि द्विड्गणम् ॥69॥

अत्र प्रवालस्याञ्जनबिन्दूत्क्षेपतिलकितत्वेन रक्तत्वेऽपि नैर्मल्यादिकार्योत्पत्तिः कथिता । सपत्नीयराजाभावस्य हेतुत्वकल्पनेन च विरोधपरिहारः । द्वितीया यथा-

शून्यापि तन्वते मूर्तिं विविधीकुरुते दृशौ ॥
स्वभावस्मरणीयानां नाथ रीतिरलौकिकी ॥70॥

अत्र दृशोः अ(द्वि)धिष्ठानरूपे साध्ये हेतौ चक्षुःसम्बन्धविशिष्टमूर्तेर्वैकल्यं चक्षुःसम्बन्धाभावः । तृतीया यथा-

भ्रमन्नाभीतपि सर्वत्र तवेशाभ्य पक्षिणः ।
विधित्सुं नकुलश्रेष्ठानेव राजन् दशाननम् ॥71॥

अत्र नकुलश्रेष्ठाः पक्षिविशेषाः सर्पदंशप्रतिबन्धकत्वादिविशेषवत्त्वात् इति सत्यपि प्रतिबन्धके कार्योत्पत्तिः कथिता । समङ्गस्लेषेण नकुलश्रेष्ठानित्यत्र विरोधपरिहारः । चतुर्थी यथा-

फल्य मयूरान्सुकवागुदेति कर्णादपि द्रवणदानम् ।
चित्रं चरणाङ्कीर्तिरवेद्राद्भसितं विलोकनं कमलात् ॥72॥

अत्र शुकवरयुद्धवक्त्रनयनजन्यानां शुकवाक्द्रविणदानादीनामकारणेभ्यो मयूरादिभ्य उत्पत्तिः कथिता । कविवि[ओ]एराजवि[ओ]पे(प)यो: समङ्गस्लेषेण रणस्य निगरणेन मुखनयनयोश्च हेतुत्वेन विरोधपरिहारः । पञ्चमी यथा-

तव प्रतापग्निवेण तापिताः परिपन्थिनः ।
हन्त शमण्यानुवन्ति देवस्यो धरणा(णी)पते ॥73॥

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अत्र सकलतापनिवारणपूर्वकसन्तोषदायितया तापविरुद्धान्मित्रात्तथा दाहकत्वेन सुखविरुद्धादवाच्च तापस्य सुखस्य चोत्पत्तिः कथिता । श्लेषेण सूर्यारण्ययोर्हेतुत्वेन विरोधपरिहारः । षष्ठी यथा-

गुणानर्जय विप्रेन्द्र यदि द्रव्यं समिच्छसि ।
समासादयतो हेतून्कार्योत्पत्तिः करोद्वहा ॥74॥

अत्र अर्थान्तरेण कार्येभ्यो गुणेभ्यः कारणस्य द्रव्य(व्यो)त्पत्तिः कथिता । गुणद्रव्ययोः कार्यकारणभावस्तु तर्कशास्त्रे प्रसिद्धः । द्रव्यगुणपदयोर्विश्लेषेण विरोधपरिहारः ।

कारणसमवधानेऽपि का[र्या]भावबर्णनं विशेषोक्तिः । यथा -

जाज्वल्यमानेऽपि तव प्रतापेऽग्नौ महीपते ।
चित्रं प्रत्यर्थीदाराणां नेत्राम्भो यन्न हीयते ॥75॥

अत्र प्रतापवह्निरूपकारणसमवधानेऽपि जलनाशरूपकार्याभावः कथितः । प्रतापस्य जलशोषकत्वाभावाद्विरोध-परिहारः ।

समानाधिकरणयोः कार्यकारणयोर्वैयधिकरण्यवर्णनमसङ्गतिः । यथा-

आस्फालयति संग्रामे धनुर्ज्यामवनीपते ॥
अयि पश्य महच्चित्रं कम्पन्ते यद्रिपुस्त्रियः ॥76॥

अत्रास्फालनकम्पनयोः समा[न]धिकरणयोर्वैयधिकरण्योक्तिः । भयस्य च हेतुकल्पनेन विरोधपरिहारः ।

अननुरूपयोर्घटना विषमः । यथा-

नानावर्णातपत्रप्रकरकुसुमी(मि)तानल्पवृक्षं वदान्य-
क्षोणीपालामरद्रुध्वजनिकरमहाशाखितीक्ष्णासितालम् ।
अश्वैरुच्चैःश्रवोभिः कलितमुरुगजैः कीर्णमैरावतेभैः
प्रौढं केदं **शहाजे**र्बलवनममरेन्द्रस्य क्व नन्दनं वा ॥77॥

अत्र प्रौढत्वमन्दत्वाभ्यामननुरूपयो राजसैन्यशक्रवनयोर्घटना ।

अनुरूपयोर्घटना समः । यथा-

अभिवाञ्छितोऽस्थिकपालचिताभसितानि मन्मथरिपोरुचिता ।
वसतिः सति क्षितितले विमलेऽप्यजनि स्मशानरुहभूरिमले ॥78॥

अत्रास्थ्यादिजुगुप्सितवस्त्वभिलषिणः शिवस्य स्मशानस्य च घटना ।

इष्टसिध्यर्थं तद्विपरीताचरणं विचित्रम् । यथा-

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महतः पदस्य लाभे व्यासक्तौ लाघवं सम(मा)श्रयति ।
किं च विवाहप्राप्त्यै विवाहविमुखो भवत्यदश्चित्रम् ॥79॥

अत्रेष्टस्य महापदस्य विवाहस्य प्राप्त्यै तद्विपरीतलाघवसमाश्रयविवाहविमुखीभवनयोराचरणम् । लाघवपदविवाहपदयोः श्लेषेण लाघवविष्णुरूपार्थक्रोडीकरणेन परिहारः ॥

आधाराधेययोरन्यतरनिरूपितात्पत्वाधिकत्वसिद्धिफलकं वर्णनमधिकम् । यथा-

अनन्तब(ब्र)ह्माण्डान्यपि यदुदरे पीलव इवा-
ऽन्तरिक्षे सम्बाधं परिदधति लीलाविहरणम् ।
न चित्रं किं तस्मिन्नपि परमुदारे त्वदुदरे
निवेशो मे जन्तोर्गजवदनमन्तोर्न भवति ॥80॥

अत्र मन्तोरनिवेशवर्णनेनाधारस्य गजाननोदरस्याल्पत्वं फलति । यथा वा-

नानानागरराजिनिर्जरभरव्याप्तत्रिलोक्यामिष-
त्येकैकं वहनाद्विधात्रजशिवा आसन् जगत्स्वामिनः ।
तानेतानपि मूलमध्यशिखराग्रैः सावकाशं वहन्
ईशानामधिपोऽसि पिप्पलतरो धन्याय तुभ्यं नमः ॥81॥

अत्र सावकाशं वहन्नित्यनेनाधेयापेक्षयाधारस्य पिप्पलतरोराधिक्यं फलति ।

अन्योन्येनान्योन्यस्य विशेषाधानमन्योन्यम् । यथा-

विभाति मुक्ताफलहारयष्टिः स्तनद्वयेनैव पृथूच्चकेन ।
स्तनद्वयं चापि तवायताक्षि प्रलम्बिलोलमुत हारयष्ट्या ॥82॥

अत्र हारकुचाभ्यां परस्परविशेषशोभाधानं कृतम् ।

आधारं विनाप्याधेयवर्णनं विशेषः । यथा-

निर्वापितेऽप्यगुरुधूपहुताशनेऽस्मिन् पूजावसानसमये भवता नरेन्द्र ।
सौगन्ध्यमाकलितगन्धवहानुबन्धमानन्दयत्यतितरां सहसौत्तरालम् ॥83॥

अत्र सौगन्ध्यचन्दनरूपप्रसिद्धाधारं विपत्स्थितिरुक्ता ।

यद्वस्तु यत्साधनत्वेन येन गृहीतं तद्विरुद्धेन तस्यैव वस्तुनः तद्विरुद्धसाधनत्वे ग्रहणं व्याघातः । यथा-

सत्पात्रत्यागचान्द्रायणमुखविविधानुष्ठितीरश्वमेध-
प्रख्यान्यज्ञान्सुयात्रा अपि विमलधियो येन सम्पाद्य साङ्गान् ।
धन्या निर्यान्ति मोक्षं क्षपितकलिमला हन्त तेनैव मूर्खा
द्रव्येणाघप्रवृत्ताः शिव शिव निरयं नैतदासादयन्ति ॥84॥

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अत्र सद्भिर्मोक्षसाधनतया सम्पादितं यद् द्रव्यं तदेव दुर्जनैर्नरकसाधनतया सम्पादितम् ।

गृहि(ही)तमुक्तरीत्या अर्थशृङ्खला एकावली । यथा-

कति स्तम्भारम्भे रमरदनरुग्दम्भजयिनः
प्रतिस्तम्भारम्भाः कति सुमफलानम्रशिरसः ।
अधोऽप्यासां वेदानपि कति पठन्ति द्विजगणा
जनाः पौराः श्रद्धालव इह कति ब्राह्मणमनु ॥85॥

अत्रादौ स्तम्भा गृहीतास्ततो रम्भा मुक्तास्ततो द्विजा गृहीतास्ततो रम्भा मुक्ता इत्यर्थशृङ्खला ।

उत्तरोत्त[रो]त्कर्षवर्णनं सारः । यथा-

विभाति जगति श्वेतं हिमं तस्मादुमापतिः ।
तस्मादतितरां चन्द्रस्तस्माद्राजन् यशस्तव ॥86॥

अत्र धावल्येनोत्तरोत्तरमुत्कर्षः ।

पर्यायो द्विविधः । एकस्य अनेकत्र सन्निवेशः ॥ एकस्मि[न्न]नेकवर्णनं द्वितीयः । तत्राद्यो यथा-

सखीजनमतिक्रम्य मनागपि न या गता ।
अधुना सैव ते दृष्टिर्मुग्धे युवसु दृश्यते ॥87॥

अत्रैकस्या दृष्टेरनेकवर्णनम् । द्वितीयो यथा -

यत्रासीत्कुचयोः पुरा कठिनता दम्भोलिदम्भापहा
तत्राद्य प्रतिभाति हन्त सुभगे शैथिल्यमेतत्कुतः ॥
किं चैतद्वदनेऽपि कान्तिसदने क्वत्यं वलीपाटवं
किं वक्ष्याम्यधुना सखे मयि जगच्छैथिल्यमुत्क्रीडति ॥88॥

अत्रैकस्मिन्कुचे अनेकयोः काठिन्यशैथिल्यवर्णनम् ।

बलवत्प्रतिपक्षपक्षपराक्रमः प्रत्यनीकम् । यथा-

त्वया प्रतापज्वलनेन राजन्
दग्धैररीणां समरे मनोभिः ।
मन्ये त्वदास्यस्य सखेति हेतोः
कृतः कलङ्की धृतरूढ्भिरिन्दुः ॥89॥

अत्र राज्ञा प्रतापेन दग्धानि मनांसि बलवन्ति तस्मिन्नपकर्तुमशक्तानि तद्वदनसुहृदं चन्द्रमसं कलङ्कीकुर्वतीति वर्णनात्प्रत्यनीकम् । मनसां चन्द्रप्रवेशने तु ''मनश्चन्द्रे निलीयते'' इति श्रुतिः प्रमाणम् ।

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कैमुत्येनार्थसिद्धिरर्थापत्तिः । यथा-

राजन् दयाकृपण एष कृपाणजन्यः
कल्पान्तवह्निसहजो भवतः प्रतापः ।
क्लिष्णाति मित्रमपि विष्णुपदाभिषक्तं
कोऽयं प्रतापनविधौ द्विषतां विचारः ॥90॥

अत्र शत्रुतापनरूपार्था(र्थ)[सि]द्धिः कैमुत्यैनोक्ता ।

समर्थनीयार्थस्य समर्थनं काव्यलिङ्गम् । तद्द्विविधम् । **वाक्यार्थहेतुकं पदार्थहेतुकं च** । तत्र वाक्यार्थहेतुकं यथा-

मातर्भागीरथि त्वज्जललवमहिमा नाधिरोहत्यजस्रं
ब(ब्र)ह्मेशानाच्युतानामपि सकलविदां शेमुषीमेतदास्ताम् ।
किं तु त्वामेव पृच्छाम्ययि वद[वद नो] वेत्ति नो वेत्ति तथ्यं
यत्स्पर्शक्षालितान्तर्वृजिनजनपदं यद्विशस्यस्वतन्त्रा ॥91॥

अत्र ''त्वामेव पृच्छामि'' इति वाक्यार्थस्य तं प्रति तन्महिमाज्ञानप्रश्नस्य बाधितत्वात् समर्थनीयस्य स्पर्शक्षालितेत्यादिवाक्यार्थः समर्थने हेतुः ।

पदार्थहेतुकं च -

परं गुर्वोरूर्वोर्युगमिदमपूर्वोदययुजे
भवत्यम्बस्तम्भेरमकरकदल्यङ्गरुचि[रे] ।
तथा जानुद्वन्द्वमणिमुकुरबिम्बं परसुखे
नितान्तं दुर्लक्ष्ये विम[ल]मुपनेत्रं मम दृशोः ॥92॥

अत्र जानुद्वन्द्वस्य उपनेत्रत्वमसिद्धमिति तत्समर्थने मणि[मु]कुरबिम्बमिति विशेषणं पदार्थो हेतुः ।

सामान्येन विशेषेण सामान्यस्य समर्थनमर्थान्तरन्यासः । यथा-

अम्ब स्वरवाहिनि त्वामहमतिविनतः प्रार्थये बु(ब)द्धपाणिः
नो ते तोयं स्पृशामि क्षणमपि यदमी सङ्गिरन्ते कवीन्द्राः ।
अस्याः स्पर्शो विधत्ते जनमनु सगदं शूलिनं वेति मात -
र्विश्वस्मादात्मनीने वचसि वरमतिः को हि नाप्तत्वभाजाम् ॥93॥

अत्र यत्ते कवीन्द्रास्तव तोयस्पर्शः सगदं शूलिनं वा करोतीति सङ्गिरन्ते अतोऽहं न स्पृशामि विशेषो विश्वस्मादित्यनेन सामान्येन स[म]र्थितः । यथा वा-

अङ्गीकारान्महतां प्रभवति लघ्वप्यनन्तकार्याय ।
कार्पासजमपि विप्रत्वाय भवति वेदमन्त्रितं सूत्रम् ॥94॥

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अत्र महदङ्गीकृतं लघ्वपि महाकार्याय भवतीति सामान्यम् । कार्पासजमित्यनेन विशेषेण समर्थितम् ।

अत्रामुमेव पुनर्विशेषेण सामान्येन वा समर्थने **विकस्वरालङ्कारमामनन्ति** । यथा-

यस्य त्यागमहार्णवो नटविटस्त्रीशूद्रविद्वन्महा-
मूर्खानप्यनिशं विमोचयति दुर्दारिद्र्यदावानलात् ।।
पात्रापात्रविचारणा तु विषयः स्तोकप्रदानां सखे
क्षेत्राक्षेत्रविचार आक्षिपति किं प्रावृट्पयोदान्मनाक् ।।95।।

अत्र यस्य त्यागेत्यादिविशेषस्य समर्थनाय पात्रेत्यादिसामान्यमभिहितं पुनःसमर्थनाय क्षेत्राक्षेत्रेत्यादि विशेषोऽभिहितः ।

अन्यस्य सिद्धये इदमित्यस्यादावित्यूहः सम्भावनम् । स च ऊहो द्विविधः । भूतो भविष्यंश्च । तत्र भूतो यथा-

*अत्रैवोन्नतसौधमूर्ध्नि निवसत्सारावपारावता-
क्रन्दत्क्रोधित ओतुराय तनुश्चित्रं स या स्यात्स्थितिः ।
तत्राकस्मिक ऐन्दवादिगमने प्रोड्डीय वेगादगात्
स्यादन्तर्नवनीतगोलकधिया सोऽयं दरीदृश्यते ।।96।।

अत्र चन्द्रे मार्जाररूपार्थसिद्ध्यर्थं भूत ऊहः । भविष्यन्यथा-

अपहृत्य सकलजगतामायुस्तन्वङ्गि विविधगुणनिकरे ।
अयि विधिरहं यदि स्यात्त्वयि नियतं सन्निवेशयिष्यामि ।।97।।

अत्रायुःसन्निवेशसिद्ध्यर्थं भावव्यूहः ।

प्रस्तुतस्य मिथ्यात्वसिद्ध्यर्थे मिथ्यार्थान्तरकल्पनं मिथ्याध्या(ध्य)वसतिः । यथा-

राष्ट्रे यस्य सदा महामनुपुरश्चर्यादिनानाविधा-
नुष्ठानानि च विप्रभोजनमसंख्यातं यथेच्छाविधम् ।।
किं चाजन्मकुटुम्बभृद्वितरणं वर्वर्ति विद्वद्गणे
चित्तत्राप्यघसंभवः किमपराद्धं वह्निजन्याम्भसि ।।98।।

अत्रैतादृशे राष्ट्रे अघसंभवस्य मिथ्यात्वसिद्ध्यर्थं सलिले वह्न्युत्पत्तिरूपमिथ्यार्थान्तरं कल्पितम् ।

प्रकृतार्थपरैः पदैः सूच्यार्थसूचनं मुद्रा । यथा-

हित्वा सर्व(र्वा)न् विषमविषयान्सद्गुरूनर्थयित्वा
श्रुत्वा तेभ्यो निगमशिरसा श्रीमहाविघ्नराजम् ।।

* Bad handwriting

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ध्यायंस्तावत्सफलय जनुर्मानुषं मानसैर-
मन्दाक्रान्ता न भवति तनुः कालपाशेन यावत् ॥99॥

अत्र **मन्द्राक्रान्ते**ति वृत्तनामसूचितम् । यथा वा-

श्रीमन्सश्रयकं च न क्षितिरुहं ग्रीष्मर्तुरावर्तते
किं च स्वां सुषमां जहार भुवि यः प्रौढः प्रतापाग्निना ॥
तस्येदं चलितं जवादिति स्वरैः संप्रत्यनीकं [क]रैः
स्वदोषादिव **शाहुराज** नितरां संतापयत्यंशुमान् ॥100॥

अत्र प्रत्यनीकालङ्कारः सूचितः ।

प्रसिद्धसहपाठानां क्रमेण निवेशनं रत्नावली । यथा-

त्रयीतनुर्द्विजाधिपः सुमङ्गलो महाबुधः ।
गुरुः कविर्दिवाकरात्मजो ह्यसौ चिदम्बरः ॥101॥

अत्र **चिदम्बरदि(दी)क्षित**मुनेर्वर्ण(र्ण)ने प्रसिद्धसहपाठानां रव्यादिग्रहाणां क्रमेण निवेशनम् ।

स्वगुणत्यागपूर्वकसङ्गतान्यगुणग्रहं तद्गुणः । यथा-

वैधात्रीयन्ति नद्यः सकलशिखरिणो गैरीकीयन्ति लोकाः
काषायीयन्ति वृक्षा उदितकिसलयीयन्ति काश्मीरजन्ति ।
किंजल्काः सर्व एते शुकमुखविहगाः कुङ्कुठी(टी)यन्ति भास्व-
द्रश्मिक्रान्ते दिगन्ते सकलमणिगणाः पद्मरागन्ति नूनम् ॥102॥

अत्र नद्यादिभिः स्वगुणपरित्यागपूर्वक-सङ्गत-रविकिरणारुणिमा गृहीतः ।

सङ्गतान्यगुणाग्रहणमतद्गुणः । यथा-

सदा साधुवचोवादामृतैरपि परिप्लुतम् ।
हन्त न द्रवति स्वान्तं दुर्जनस्य कथञ्चन ॥103॥

अत्र सङ्गतानामपि साधुवचोऽमृतानां द्रवत्वं दुर्जनचित्तेन न स्वीकृतम् ।

सादृश्योद्भेदानध्यवसायो मीलितम् । यथा-

स्फुटविपुलबिन्दुजालकविराजमानेऽस्य दन्तिनो वदने ।
नो लक्ष्यन्ते मुक्तामुक्ताः प्रतिमावभागमाविश्य ॥104॥

अत्र गजमुखस्फुरद्बिन्दूनां मुक्ताफलानां च वर्णसाम्यादनध्यवसायः ।

सादृश(श्या)द्भेदानध्यवसायेऽपि केनचिन्मि(न्नि)मित्तेन भेदस्फूर्तावुन्मीलितम् । यथा-

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अतिपीतमतीव सूक्ष्मकं दृढलग्नं वि[व]निताङ्गकेंऽशुकम् ।।
वद वेदितुमत्र कः क्षमो यदि न स्याद्दृढनीविबन्धनम् ।।105।।

अत्र साम्यादङ्गवसनया भेदानध्यवसाये प्राप्तेऽपि नीविग्रन्थिना भेदस्फूर्तिः ।

प्रश्नाभिन्नं उत्तराभिन्नं वा उत्तरं चित्रम् । यथा-

का सारवती प्रथिता भूमिः कमलं विकासयत्यर्कः ।
सकलसुरप्रीतिकरं किं कुसुमं किं पुरं च **करवीरम्** ।।106।।

अत्र सारवती भूमिः का प्रथितेति प्रश्नस्य सूर्यश्च कं विकासयति इति प्रश्नस्य च प्रश्नवाक्यमेव उत्तरम् । सर्वसुरप्रीतिकरं किं कुसुमं नगरं च किमिति प्रश्नद्वयस्य **करवीर**मित्येकमुत्तरम् ।।

अन्यस्य हेतुत्वकल्पनेन प्रकृतगोपनं व्याजोक्तिः । यथा-

हरिकीर्तनश्रवणसुखमनुभवितुं संस्थिता समीक्ष्य वधूः ।
उदितं मदनविकारं स्थगयति सप्रेमनर्त्तनैर्धूर्तः ।।107।।

अत्र सप्रेमनर्तनस्य हेतुत्वं प्रकल्प्य वधूविलोकनजन्यविकारस्य गोपनम् ।

लोकप्रसिद्धप्रवादानुकरणं लोकोक्तिः । [यथा]-

केदं मुखं तव विचित्रविला[स]रम्यं
केदं कलङ्कमिलितं च सुधांशुबिम्बम् ।
चेदन्यथा त्वमपि पश्य न दर्पणे हि
व्यापेक्ष्यणे करणकंकरकीक्षणाय ।।108।।

अत्र दर्पणः किमित्यादिना लोकप्रवादानुप्रकारः ।

श्लेषेण काका वाऽन्यार्थकल्पनं वक्रोक्तिः । यथा-

राधे पश्य हिमद्युतिं न हि कृतः सङ्गस्त्वया केनचित्
नो सोमं कथ*यामि नाथ गिरिजानाथोऽपि नेह स्थितः ।
तारानाथमहं ब्रवीमि न च सोऽप्यत्रास्ति वालीत्यसौ
राधामाधवयोर्विनोदभणितिश्चन्द्रोदये पातु वः ।।109।।

अत्र चन्द्रोदयं दृष्ट्वा ''राधे हिमद्युतिं पश्येत्यादि'' कृष्णोक्तौ ''न हि कृतः सङ्गस्त्वया केनचिदित्यादि'' श्लेषेणार्थान्तरं राधया परिकल्पितम् । यथा वा-

नैवापकर्षणीयोऽयं नाथ पीनस्तनाञ्चलः ।
नैवापकर्षणीयोऽयमिति रागाज्जहार तम् ।।110।।

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* Not legible. Two letters are left out there but not mentioned in the margin though the mark (^ for Kākapada) is there.

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अ[त्र] ''नैवापकर्षणीयोऽयमिति'' काका स्वरविकारेण अपकर्षणीयोऽयमिति अर्थान्तरकल्पनम् ।

स्वभाववर्णनं स्वभावोक्तिः । यथा-

जानुद्वन्द्वान्तरालोचनमुखकमलाकुञ्चिताङ्गी लिखन्ती
भूमिं मन्दाक्षमन्देक्षणमभिमुखगान्वीक्षमाणं तरन्तः ।
भूयो भूयोऽञ्चलेन प्रचितमणिगणं शीर्षमाच्छादयन्ती
भूषा कल्पोज्ज्वलानिद्रवकलुषितभूपृष्टभित्तिश्चकास्ति ॥111॥

यथा च -

दरचलदधरोष्ठं मन्दसम्मीलिताक्षं
प्रति मशकनिपातं चालितश्रोत्रपुच्छं ।
उपविश[ति सु] वृक्षच्छायमेणीकदम्बं
कलभवलवदग्र्य प्राणना[था]भिगुप्तम् ॥112॥

अत्राद्ये तु पुष्पवतीस्त्रीस्वभावदर्शनम् । द्वितीये तु मृगस्वभाववर्णनम् ।

हेतुर्द्विविधः । हेतुसमासार्थं हेतुवर्णनमेकः । हेतुहेतुमतोरैक्यं द्वितीयः । तत्राद्यो यथा-

यस्मिन् शासति पेशवाभिधविद्विभौ ब्राह्मण्यमुत्तेजितं
मर्द्धरैरुदितं खलैश्च रुदितं धर्मोऽर्जितः वर्यागैः ।
आम्नायैर्मुदितं जिनै[र्भ्रुकुटितं] भूम्यद्य राजन्वती
सच्छिष्यैरिवि(व)राजितं द्विजगणैरुद्भासितं सर्वतः ॥*

अत्र शासनस्य हेतौ ब्राह्मण्योत्तेजनादीनां च हेतु[हेतुमतोः]वर्णनम् । द्वितीयो यथा-

अभावो विघ्नानां गिरिवरसुतायाः स्मयभरो
निवृत्तिः शोकानामभयमखिलानां सुमनसाम् ।
समृद्धिः स्वार्थानां विविधविपदामस्तमयनं
शरण्यानां क्षेमं द्विरदवदनो मेऽस्तु शरणम् ॥113॥

अत्र विघ्नाभाववत्वादिना गजानने तद्भक्त[शोकादिनिवृत्तित्वं हेतुः ।]

सर्वथैवोपमानिषेधो समाख्या । यथा-

वसन्ते वान्यस्मिन्परमकरुणा मूढ भवतां
व्रजेदौदासीन्याद् गजवदन निर्भर्त्सयसि चेत् ।
शरण्यात्कारुण्यादसकृदुररीकर्तुमिह न
त्रिलोक्यां वेदेषु त्वमिव नरनागेष्वपि पुमान् ॥114॥

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* *Śloka* no. missing.

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अत्रोत्तरार्ध उपमाने विशेषः ।

इव-यथा-दृष्टान्तनिदर्शनादिशब्दैः सामान्यस्य विशेषेण समर्थनमुदाहरणम् । यथा-

लघुरपि निजकुलम x x x x* ति सच्चरणशरणः ।
श्रीरामचरणसेवी निदर्शनं रेणुरश्मिविहितवधूः ॥115॥

अत्र पूर्वार्धगतसामान्यं निदर्शनशब्देन विशेषेण स[म]र्थितम् ।

इन्द्रियजन्यं ज्ञानं प्रत्यक्षम् । यथा-

आस्वादादधरस्य चम्पकरजोगौराङ्गसंवीक्षणान्
नर्मोक्तिश्रवणान्मधु(धू)क्षितमुखामोदस्य चाघ्राणतः ।
प्र(प्रे)मोद्रेकेगतस्मृतिः स्फुटलसद्रोमाञ्चमालिङ्गना
निर्वृण्वन्त्यधुनैव मे प्रियतमे सर्वेन्द्रियाणि प्रियम् ॥116॥

अत्र प्रत्यक्षं स्पष्टम् ।

अनुमानं यथा-

यद्दाहं जनयति वह्निवदलं यच्चापलं बिभ्रते
यत्प्रेत्याद्भयमावहति दधते यच्चेन्द्रगोपत्विषम् ।
यन्नश्यन्ति हिमेषु मत्कुणगणा जायन्त उष्णेषु य-
त्तद्ग्रीष्मोष्णमरीचितीव्रमहसो जाले स्फुलिङ्गच्छटाः ॥117॥

अत्र अनुमानप्रयोगस्तु । मत्कुणाः पक्षः । ग्रीष्मार्कतेजःस्फुलिङ्गत्वं साध्यम् । दाहजनकत्वचापल्यादिमत्त्वं हेतुः । यन्नैवं तन्नैवं यथा घटः ।

उपमानं यथा-

त्रयस्त्रिंशत्कोटिमितामरेषु मम दैवतम् ।
तद्विद्धि यस्य वदनं गजेन्द्रवदनाकृतिः ॥118॥

अत्र गजेन्द्रवदनाकृति इति अतिदेशवाक्यम् ॥

शब्दप्रमाणं यथा-

विहाय भेदबुद्धित्वं अनुकूला भव प्रिये ।
नास्ति भिन्नप्रपञ्चेषु सर्वं ब्रह्ममयं जगत् ॥119॥

अत्राभेदकं ''सर्वं ब्रह्ममयं जगदिति'' वेदान्तस्मृतिप्रमाणम् ।

* Folio broken.

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अथैतेषा(म)लङ्काराणां यथासम्भवं मेलने चारुत्वातिशयोपलम्भकौ संसृष्टिसङ्करो(रौ)भवतः । तत्र **तिलतण्डुलन्यायेन मिश्रिता[ना]मप्यलङ्काराणां परस्परनैरपेक्ष्येण स्फुटं भेदावगमे संसृष्टिः ।** यथा-

राजन्नैतां गुणगणवतीं वावडीमुल्लसन्तीं
आकृष्योच्चैर्हरति गगनं स्वालयं मातरिश्वा ।
इत्यामर्षादिव परमसौ रोदिति प्राप्तकम्पा
सद्वंशा स्त्री कथमपरतः स्वापकर्षं सहेत ॥120॥

अत्रोत्पेक्षार्थान्तरयोः परस्परनैरपेक्ष्येण मेलनात्संसृष्टिः ।

नीरक्षीरन्यायेन मिश्रितानां परस्परसापेक्ष्येण स्फुटभेदानवगमे सङ्करः । यथा-

अधः कुर्वल्लेखां शशिन उत शैलस्य दृषदं
दधानश्चूडायामपि च मदनासङ्गसरलः ।
वहन्वंशोद्भूतिं चिरमहितगङ्गाव्यतिकरो
विचित्राङ्गः शंभो रिपुरिव पतङ्गो विजयते ॥121॥

अत्र शशिनो लेखामित्यत्र निगरणादिति [अति]शयोक्तेर्मदनवंशपदयोः श्लेषस्योत्प्रेक्षायाश्च परस्परसापेक्ष्येण मिश्रि(श्र)णात्स्फुटभेदानवगमात् सङ्करः ।

पुर(रौ)तंसकोल्हा(पु)रस्थप्रजेश
प्रलब्धप्रतिष्ठाददृष्टजीवात् ॥
प्रजातेन चिन्तामणिख्यातनाम्ना
मया साधुवर्या यथाबुद्धिवेगम् ॥1॥

विनिर्माय नव्यान्यलङ्कारयोग्या-
न्यभिज्ञैकहृद्यानि पद्यानि वक्ष्ये ।
अलङ्कारसारेऽत्र*x x x x x
हरेपादयोग्ये क्षणं हृन्निधेयम् ॥2॥

इति श्रीमज्ज्योतिर्विद्राजकुलतिलकायमानजीवज्योतिर्वित्सूनुचिन्तामणिविरचितोऽलङ्कारसारः समाप्तः ॥

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THE FOUR *STOTRAS* OF JAGANNĀTHAKAVI FROM GUJARAT

MUKUND L. WADEKAR* AND MILIND S. JOSHI*

Introductory :

The Oriental Institute of Baroda has more than 28,000 manuscripts, incorporating many rare and important works. Some of these works are still in manuscript form and need to be studied and edited which would definitely throw flood light on the contribution of several scholars to various fields of Sanskrit Literature. The Sanskrit Literature abounds in many *stotras* written in praise of several Gods and Goddesses. These *stotras* are replete with devotional sentiments. Many *stotrasaṅgrahas* are published. The Oriental Institute possesses one very rare manuscript incorporating four *stotras* composed by Jagannāthakavi, who is evidently different from the famous Jagannāthapaṇḍita, but might be residing in Gujarat as is clear from the study of the *stotras*. In this paper, an attempt is made to throw some light on the contribution of this poet and the text of the four *stotras* composed by the poet is presented herewith as available from the only manuscript of the Oriental Institute.

Description of the Manuscript :

There is one rare manuscript (Acc.No.11,740) which has only five folios. In this manuscript, there are four *stotras* composed by Jagannāthakavi. These *stotras* are (1) *Viṭṭhalastotram*, (2) *Ḍākureśastotram*, (3) *Kṛṣṇāṣṭakam* and (4) *Revāṣṭakam*, all by a single poet as is clear from the last verse of all these *stotras*. Though a small manuscript, it contains all these four *stotras* of Jagannātha- a forgotten poet. It is a paper manuscript in *Devanāgarī* script written in good handwriting by the scribe. It has 10 lines to a page and there are 35 letters in a line. No information about the scribe or period of writing is available. Manuscript begins with *Śrīgaṇeśāya namaḥ* । *Śrīgurucaraṇābhyām namaḥ*. There are no marginal additions and no letters are left out by the scribe. Manuscript has 20 cms. length and breadth of 11 cms. Manuscript seems to be about 200 years old.

Jagannāthakavi :

As mentioned previously Jagannāthakavi, the composer of all these *stotras* is different from the famous Jagannāthapaṇḍita. In the last verse of this *stotra*, he has mentioned his

Journal of the Oriental Institute, Vol. 50, Nos. 1-4, Sept.-June 2000-2001 Issue, pp. 281-288.

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own name as Jagannātha, who is the composer of these *stotras*, but no more information about the date, place of residence, his other works, etc. is available. The *New Catalogus Catalogorum* does not refer to this Jagannātha. The poet has praised the river Kṛṣṇā in the *stotra Kṛṣṇāṣṭakam*, while he has also praised the river Narmadā in the *stotra Revāṣṭakam*. He has also praised Viṭṭhala in the *Viṭṭhalastotram*, while he has also eulogised Dākoranātha in the *Dākureśastotram*. This combination may simply suggest that he might be a Maharashtriyan coming to Gujarat for pilgrimage and residing somewhere near Narmadā. In the *Viṭṭhalastotra*, he says - "*Ekaścare, - hamakutobhayamapramattaḥ, Prārabdhakarma Kṣapituṁ bhuvi puṇyadeśān*". This shows that he was a real *Jñānī*, whose sins were all washed away and who was wandering in holy places, simply enjoying his *Prārabdhakarma*. His devotion to Viṭṭhala, Dākoranātha, Narmadā and Kṛṣṇā is evident from these *stotras*. For this see also verse 8 of the *Revāṣṭakam*, where he says "*anudinaṁ tiṣṭhāmi te sammukhe*". In the last verse of the *Revāṣṭakam*, he introduces himself as "*Kṛṣṇāṅghripadmabhramara*", which may suggest that Kṛṣṇa was his preceptor. The manuscript also begins with the statement- "*Śrīgurucaraṇābhyām Namaḥ*".

About the *Stotras* :

The first *Viṭṭhalastotra* contains 10 verses, 9 of which are in *Vasantatilakā* metre and the last one is in *Anuṣṭubh* metre. The poet has praised Viṭṭhala or Pāṇḍuraṅga, who is on the bank of the river Bhīmā. The second *stotra* the *Dākureśastotra* has total 9-verses of which 8- are in *Śārdūlavikrīḍitam* metre and the last one is in *Śikhariṇī* metre. The *stotra* contains praise of Dākoranātha situated at Dākora (Ḍaṅkapura) in Gujarat. The poet also refers to the mythological story of the *Bhakta* Boḍāṇā fetching Dvārikādhīśa from Dvārāvatī (Dvārakā) to Ḍaṅkapura (Dakora). He also refers to Gomatī in the *stotra* and fruit of reciting *Bhāgavata* in seven days at this holy place. The third *stotra Kṛṣṇāṣṭakam* has totaly 9- verses out of which 8- are in the *Śārdūlavikrīḍitam* metre and last one is in the *Anuṣṭubh* metre. The *stotra* contains praise not of Lord Kṛṣṇa, but of the river Kṛṣṇā in 8 - verses. The last and fourth *stotra* is the *Revāṣṭakam* having nine verses in the *Śārdūlavikrīḍitam* metre and the last ninth verse in the *Anuṣṭubh* metre. As is clear from the title of this *stotra*, that it is in praise of Revā i.e. Narmadā. For relishing the devotional fervour of these *stotras*, the text of all of them based upon the rare manuscript of the Oriental Institute, Baroda is presented herewith, for the benefit of the interested scholars.

The above contribution of the forgotten Jagannāthakavi should be taken note of in the Sanskrit *stotra* Literature in general and in the contribution of Gujarat to Sanskrit Literature in particular.

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१

जगन्नाथविरचितं
विट्ठलस्तोत्रम्

श्रीगणेशाय नमः । श्रीगुरुचरणाभ्यां नमः ॥

प्रातः स्मरामि गुरुपादसरोजयुग्मं
संसारसिन्धुतरणाय दृढं सुपोतम् ।
भक्तप्रियं शरणदं भवपद्मजाद्यै -
र्ध्यातं स्वकामपरिपूरकमाकलय्य ॥१॥

वन्दे तदेव सततं सनपादचिह्नं
भीमातटे निकटकालुविहारशीलम् ।
वेणानदद्वङ्करतालविमिश्रगीते
नृत्यत्पदोत्सुकतया स्वगृहे विहार ॥२॥

दत्ताभयं समदृशां हृदिबद्धनारा-
ऽभेदभ्रमद्रुगहशां भयदं सुदूरम् ।
सर्वार्थदं भुवि नृणां शरणागतानां
ज्ञात्वा प्रसन्नमनसा शरणं गतोऽस्मि ॥३॥

ये पाण्डुरङ्गमनिशं हृदि भावयन्त-
स्तस्यैव भक्तिमचलां बहुमानयन्तः ।
नामामृतं रुचिकरं मुखतः पिबन्त-
स्ते दर्शनाद्भगदिदं प्रुनन्ति सन्तः ॥४॥

भक्तानुरागविलसन्मुखमन्दहास्यं
कर्णद्वये मकरकुण्डलमम्बुजाक्षम् ।
कण्ठे लसत्तुलसिहारविराजमानं
पीताम्बरं कटिकरं चितिदत्तपादम् ॥५॥

हत्वा दशाननमुखान्भुवि भारभूतान्
श्रान्तं धनुःसमवहाय विहारसक्तम् ।
गोपालभक्तपरिवेष्टितबालवेषं
श्रीविट्ठलं मम गुरुं शिरसा नतोऽस्मि ॥६॥

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सत्पुण्डरीकभजनेन वशं प्रणीतं
भक्तप्रियार्थमचलं विस्मृतस्वगेहम् ।
नामप्रियं कलिकलङ्कहरं कथाज्ञान्
कैवल्यदं रघुवरं शरणं प्रपद्ये ॥७॥

अस्मत्सुखं मुखमृगाङ्कनिरीक्षणेन
यत्स्याद्धरेश्चरणपङ्कजचिन्तनेन ।
नैतद्भवेत्सततयोगयुजां मुनीनां
भोगेषु सक्तमनसां तु कथं पुनः स्यात् ॥८॥

श्रीमद्गुरोर्भगवतः करुणावलोक-
लेशाम्बुदोच्छमितकल्मषदावदाहः ।
एकश्चरेऽहमकुतोभयमप्रमत्तः
प्रारब्धकर्म क्षपितुं भुवि पुण्यदेशान् ॥९॥

इति गीतं **जगन्नाथ**नाम्ना **विट्ठल**संस्तवम् ।
सायं प्रातः पठन्भक्त्या विष्णोः स दयितो भवेत् ॥१०॥

॥ इति श्रीविट्ठलस्तोत्रं संपूर्णम् ॥

२

जगन्नाथविरचितं
डाकुरेशस्तोत्रम् ॥

श्रीद्वारावतियात्रयातिविकलः षण्मासि मास्यच्युतं
नित्यं षष्टिसमाः करस्थतुलसीपत्रैः समर्च्याभवत् ।
दृष्ट्वा भक्तजरां कृपार्द्रहृदयः कृष्णः स्वकीयां पुरीं
हित्वा **गुर्जर**डङ्क**नाथ**निकटे दासालयं त्वाश्रितः ॥१॥

तं ब्रह्मादिनिषेवितं कलिमलप्रध्वंसकं ज्ञानदं
सर्वेषामघकारिणामघहरं स्वात्मानमानन्ददम् ।
भक्ताभीष्टफलप्रदं मुनिवरैर्ध्यातं हृदम्भोरुहे
संसारार्णवतारकं भयहरं सेवध्वमत्युत्सुकाः ॥२॥

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श्रीमच्चारुमुखाम्बुजोपरिलसन्नासाग्रमुक्ताफलं
कर्णद्योतितलोलकुण्डलतडिद्गण्डश्रिया शोभितम् ।
कण्ठे कौस्तुभमौक्तिकैर्मरकतैश्चञ्चत्प्रभाभासुरं
हस्तैः कञ्जगदासुदर्शनदरान्नित्यं वहन्तं भजे ॥३॥

काञ्चीदामविभूषितं कटितटं पीताम्बरं सुन्दरं
ध्यायेन्नूपुरनादितं पदयुगं जङ्घोरुजानुद्वयम् ।
एवं ध्यानपरा विरञ्चितनया भक्तैः समभ्यर्चितं
सेवन्तो भगवत्पदाब्जयुगलं नित्यं स्थिताः सन्निधौ ॥४॥

नानासाधनश्रान्तजीवमनसां स्वात्मैकतामुद्यतं
कर्तुं रागिषु रागितां स्वविषये मुक्तेषु दास्यात्मताम् ।
हंसं गोपिमनोविलासकुशलं सेवैकगम्यं परं
ज्ञात्वा लोकविचक्षणा भुवि हरिं भक्त्या भजन्तोऽनिशम् ॥५॥

यो रङ्कः प्रतिमासमागमकरो राकोत्सवे रङ्कतां
त्यक्त्वा पुत्रधनादिभोगसहितां लोके सदा मोदते ।
अन्ते गच्छति वैनतेयरहणं चारुह्य सर्वोत्तमं
वैकुण्ठं हरिपार्षदैः समकृतिर्ब्रह्मादिभिः संस्तुतः ॥६॥

अत्रागत्य द्विजोत्तमः पठति चेत्सप्ताहमन्थस्त्यजन्
भक्त्या **भागवतं** तदङ्घ्रिमनसा निष्कामतामाश्रितः ।
तृप्तास्तातपितामहादिपितरो देवर्षयश्चाशिषं
यच्छन्त्यस्य ऋणत्रयापकरणान्मोक्षे मनः सज्जति ॥७॥

लोकानां शरणं कृतान्तहरणं भुक्तिप्रदं मुक्तिदं
भक्तानुग्रहकातरं मगधपाद्धीतं रणान्निर्गतम् ।
गङ्गागोमतिसेवितं वटतले विश्रम्य यात्रोत्सवे
यान्तं पौरजनैः समं स्वसदने तं **डाकुरेशं** भजे ॥८॥

इति श्रीकृष्णस्य स्तवनघटितं स्तोत्रममलं
जगन्नाथेनेदं कृतमचलभक्त्या गुरुमुदे ।
यदा सायं प्रातः पठति मनुजो देवपुरतः
स्थितः पुण्यश्लोकः स भवति सुराणामधिपतिः ॥९॥

॥इति डाकुरेशस्तोत्रम् ॥

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जगन्नाथविरचितं

कृष्णाष्टकम् ॥

कृष्णे कृष्णतनो त्वदीयसलिले मज्जन्ति ये मानवा
गच्छन्तीन्द्रपदे निधाय सहसा पादं हरेरालयम् ।
त्वन्नीरामृतपानतृप्तमनसो मत्स्यादयो विज्वराः
स्वर्गस्थान्विहसन्त्यधोमुखगतान्प्राप्तुं स्वधिष्ण्यं शुभम् ॥१॥

त्वत्तीरं द्विजसंकुलं हरिहरब्रह्मादिभिर्धिष्ठितं
नत्वा प्राश्य शिवां त्वदम्बुलहरीं कामाद्विरक्तोऽभवत् ।
सोऽयं साङ्ख्यसमाहितेन मनसा साज्ञानविध्वंसकै-
र्दुष्प्रापं पदमञ्जसा भवकथानाशक्षयं प्राप्तवान् ॥२॥

स्नातुं यान्ति दिवौकसः प्रतिदिनं गन्धर्वविद्याधरा
यक्षाश्चारणगुह्यका मुनिगणा दृष्ट्वाद्भुतं तन्महत् ।
यत्सङ्गादभवत्कलङ्करहिता गङ्गा जगत्पावनी
वन्देऽहं जननीं भवाब्धितरणीं कृष्णां सतृष्णोऽन्वहम् ॥३॥

त्वत्तीरे वसतां नृणामुत यशो रूपं गुणानाशिषः
श्रुत्वैतन्निजलब्धये सुरनराः कुर्वन्ति तीव्रं तपः ।
एवं भाव्य मया त्वदेकशरणान्नान्यत्परं देहिनां
कृष्णे पापविनाशके तव तटे वासः सदा प्रार्थितः ॥४॥

हे मातस्तव वैभवं निजजनस्यार्तिच्छिदं शान्तिदं
ब्रह्माद्यैस्त्रिदशैर्विमृग्यमभयस्थानं सदैवेच्छुभिः ।
तत्स्तोतुं मम कामकल्पितमतिः क्वेयं कथं स्यादिति
ज्ञात्वा त्वत्तनुमच्युताङ्घ्रिशरणं गन्ता तदा स्यामहम् ॥५॥

आत्मानात्मविवेकनिर्मलधियो ध्यातुः परां चित्कलां
त्वत्तोयैः क्षपितुं हृदिस्थशमलं राजर्षयः सत्वरम् ।
त्यक्त्वा राज्यभरं सुदुस्तरमयं नत्वा गुरोर्वाक्यतः
सेवन्ते तव तीरसङ्गमसुखं कृत्वा हरेरर्चनम् ॥६॥

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कृष्णे शम्भुसमुद्भवे तव तनौ मज्जज्जनानां पदं
प्राप्तुं वाञ्छति योगिवृन्दमनिशं षट्चक्रभेदादिभिः ।
तस्यास्तीरनिवासिनः सुहृदयाः पीत्वा पुनस्तज्जलं
धन्यास्ते शतपूर्वजैः सह नराः प्राप्तास्त्वदीयां गतिम् ॥७॥

याचे त्वां परमेश्वरीं सुखकरीं स्वर्गापवर्गप्रदां
त्वत्तीरे निवसन्हरेरनुदिनं नामोच्चरन्नुच्चकैः ।
भक्तिः साधुषु सत्कथासु कविभिर्गीतासु सत्कामति-
रेवं चेदसुखोऽपि नित्यसुखदः स्याद्गर्भवासो हि नः ॥८॥

कृष्णाष्टकमिदं पुण्यं **जगन्नाथेन** निर्मितम् ।
श्रुत्वा पठित्वा सुस्तवा च पापेभ्यः सुखमश्नुते ॥९॥

॥ इति कृष्णाष्टकं संपूर्णम् ॥

४

जगन्नाथविरचितं

रेवाष्टकम् ॥

मातः शम्भुशरीरजे तव तनौ मज्जन्ति ये प्राणिन-
स्ते स्वर्गं लघुकृत्य यान्ति यतिभिर्दुष्प्रापमैशं पदम् ।
नित्यं स्नानरता विशुद्धमनसो ये वै हरौ वा हरे
भक्ताः पञ्चमुखाश्चतुर्भुजयुता गच्छन्ति लोकं तयोः ॥१॥

रेवे त्वां मनसा स्मरन्ति मनुजा ध्यायन्ति तस्वार्थिनो
योगाभ्यासरताः शिवार्चनपरास्तीरं श्रयन्ते तव ।
निष्कामा अपि यान्ति निर्मलधियः पुण्यं जलं सेवितुं
ते ते स्वस्वगतिं लभन्त इतरे कामाश्रयाः कामितम् ॥२॥

त्वत्तोयैर्द्विजराजराजिरचितानर्घाञ्जलीनर्पितुं
मित्रः शत्रुभयं ह्रुदेति गगने ज्ञात्वा करान्दर्शयन् ।
विष्णुब्रह्महरास्त्वदर्चनफलं दातुं जनानां सदा
स्वात्मालक्ष्यमलक्ष्य सर्वहृषिषु प्रत्यक्षभूताः स्थिताः ॥३॥

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देवि त्वामवलम्ब्य देवमुनयः स्वर्गापवर्गप्रदां
भोगेच्छामपहाय योगममलं सालम्बमेवाश्रिताः ।
केचित्तेष्वपि योगसिद्धमतयस्त्यक्त्वा सबीजं बहु
मन्यन्ते मनसो निरोधमपरे देहप्रपातं जले ॥४॥

त्वत्तोये निवसन्ति जीवनिकरास्तीरद्वये वासिनः
सर्वे स्थावरजङ्गमा अपि दिवं नेच्छन्ति भोगप्रदा(द)म् ।
कल्पान्तेऽप्यविनाशि सौख्यमतुलं त्वन्नीरपानामृतं
पीत्वा प्राप्य विनाशिनिक्षणसुखे स्वर्गामृते निःस्पृहाः ॥५॥

गङ्गे ते महि नारदादिमुनिभिः श्रुत्वा पुरा वर्णितं
त्वत्तीरे पशुकीटकादिषु भवं वाञ्छन्ति मोक्षप्रदम् ।
भूतप्रेतपिशाचपापनिचयाः स्पृष्ट्वा जलं ते शुचि
स्वर्याताः शतशोऽथ दिव्यवपुषः स्वस्त्रीभिरालिङ्गिताः ॥६॥

पाषाणा अपि नर्मदे तव जले पूज्याः शिवत्वं गताः
श्रुत्वैतज्जडपावनत्वममराः स्नातुं सदा [त]त्पराः ।
राजानः समुपागताः शिवपदं प्राप्तुं गृहाशां क्षणा-
त्स्थित्वा ते तटवर्तिनः पशुपतीन्सेवन्त अत्युत्सुकाः ॥७॥

वेदान्तामलदृष्टिभिः परिमितां संसारवारान्निधौ
नावं त्वां समुपाश्रितोऽहमभयं कामादिनक्रारितः ।
भुक्तिं मुक्तिमुपेक्ष्य भक्तिमचलामिच्छन्मुकुन्दे शिवे
भेदाभेदविवर्जितामनुदिनं तिष्ठामि ते सम्मुखे ॥८॥

कृष्णाङ्घ्रिपद्मभ्रमरजगन्नाथेन निर्मितम् ।
रेवाष्टकं पठेद्यस्तु कर्मपाशैः प्रमुच्यते ॥९॥

॥ इति रेवाष्टकं संपूर्णम् ॥

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KAVYA PARIKSHANAM – A COMPARATIVE STUDY

[illegible]

The word *Gita* is called as 'song' in English literature. Word 'song' came from Sanskrit word '*gana*'. It is a kind of a musical instrument which is called '*gana*'. The English lyrical poetry is said to have come from the songs. In Indian literature, song is given more importance. There are many lyrical and devotional poems in Sanskrit literature. The *Meghaduta*, the *Ritusamhara* and the *Sringaratilaka* are a few of lyrical examples. The *Gitagovinda* (*GG*) of Jayadeva is a combination of both lyrical and devotional poems. The *Gitagovinda* is beneficiary stanzas to call the poet's great faith in and devotion to Lord Krsna – the Almighty – One who removes sorrows of the world. This devotionalism, however, rolls over at times to even eroticism. Such poems also describe various phases of love, jealousy, awakened hopes, disappointment, reconciliation etc.

It can be generally remarked that all the *gitikavyas* have stylistic elegance and sentimental nobleness. Though all of them have been written in imitation of the *GG*, some of them depict the *Srimad Ramalila*, *Ganapatilila*, *Katyayanilila* etc. All these works are of devotional character and they present different aspects of the *lila*.

The Imitations of *Gitagovinda*:

In the book "*A Study on the Imitations of Gitagovinda*," Dr. Banamali Rath has given a series of works on this subject. But it is surprising that he has not mentioned the present work i.e. *Daruvadarsanam*. Like the *Meghaduta*, the *GG* has given rise to many imitations. These imitations sometimes substitute the theme of Rama-Sita, Siva-Parvati, for Krsna and Radha. We can see this in '*Gomedasamhita*', Haryacarya's '*Janakigita*', Prabhakar Acharya's '*Gitaraghava*', Hariharka's '*Ramavilasa*', Bhimudatta's '*Gita-gaurisa*', Kalyanas's '*Gitagangadhara*', Ramabhatta's '*Gitagirisa*', Vanisamani's *Gitadigambara* etc."

Journal of the Oriental Institute, Vol. 50, Nos. 1-4, Sept.-June 2000-2001 Issue, pp. 289-297.

* Oriental Institute, M.S. University of Baroda, Vadodara.

1. Rath Banamali, '*A Study of the imitations of Gitagovinda*', Kalyani Prakashan, 1984, Orissa, India.
2. *Gomedasamhita*, 2.187 to 189.
3. De S.K., "*History of Sanskrit Literature*", p. 317-324.

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All these works are influenced by Jayadeva's language, *Bhāva, Chanda, Anuprāsa,* a Refrain line etc. The GG is a combination of tradition of *līlāgāna, Śṛṅgārilagīti, stotra* etc. It is full of *Bhaktirasa.* The influence of *Rādhā-Kṛṣṇalīlā* theme has dominated all sections of people. The *Gītagovinda* is a master-piece of literary composition of a great poet Jayadeva whose emphasis on *Prema* and *Bhakti* remains still unparalleled in the entire Sanskrit Literature.

The *Dārukāvanavilāsa* :

The '*Dārukāvanavilāsa*' (DVV) of Ratnārādhya is a little-known *kāvya* and is also influenced by Jayadeva's style of writing. In his poem he closely imitates the *Gītagovinda kāvya* for the beautification of his poetry, yet, the content is quite different in both the works. The GG describes the *Rāsakrīḍā* of Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa, likewise, in the DVV the poet describes *Rāsakrīḍā* of Śaṅkara-Pārvatī, which is less talked about.

Manuscript Description :

There are three Mss. of DVV, two are in Adyar, and one is in Government Oriental Library, Madras. The Oriental Institute has photo-copies of the Adyar Library Mss. only (Acc. Nos. 27164 and 27165).

The original manuscript of DVV is a palm-leaf Ms., written in *Grantha* script, which contains 27 folios and size of the manuscript is 15'' x 1.1/2''. There are seven lines in a folio. It is a complete manuscript alongwith the text of a brief commentary written probably by the author himself, composed in honour of Lord Śiva after the manner of the celebrated poem GG.

The Oriental Institute of Baroda, M.S. University has a photo-copy (ACC.No.27164) of this transcript Ms. of DVV and is based on *Devanāgarī* transcript. The *New Catalogus Catalogorum*[4] has mentioned that DVV is a *kāvya* about Śiva and Pārvatī and seems to be based on GG of Jayadeva.

The present manuscript of the DVV is a paper transcript No. TR-349. It has 79 folios and the size of the Ms. is 8'' x 6.1/2'' with fifteen lines in a page. Its condition is good and is written in *Devanāgarī* script, copied by S. Nigaman *ba* elamn on 24th December, 1949.

The manuscript of this work is corrupt, old but is in fair condition. These two Mss. of DVV are in the Adyar library. One Palm leaf manuscript and other one is a transcript paper Ms. of Gr.Script[5].

4. *New Catalogus Catalogorum,* Vol.9, Uni. of Madra, 1977, p.310.
5. '*Descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrit Mss. in the Adyar Library*' Vol. V, Series No.80. Adyar, Chennai, 1951, p.355.

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One more Ms. is preserved in the Government Oriental Mss. Library, Madras[6]. It contains five *sargas* and the last canto is incomplete. The Ms. is in Tamil script and contains a few *Aṣṭapadīs* after the manner of the GG.

The poet Ratnārādhya of *Dārukāvanavilāsa* is unknown to most of the scholars. He has neither given anything about his personal details in his *kāvya* nor do we get them from other sources.

The colophon of the DVV is as follows :

इति दारुकावनविलासे श्रीरत्नआराध्यगुरुकृतौ महाकाव्ये.....

The theme of this work is very clear from the title of this poem. It describes the *Vilāsalīlā* in the place called *Dārukāvana*. The *Rāsakrīḍā* of Śankara and Pārvati is described here like *Rāsalīlā* of Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa in GG of Jayadeva.

The *Dārukāvana* :

The title of this *kāvya* DVV shows the importance of *Dārukāvana*(DV). The name *Dārukāvana* is derived from the story of *Rākṣasī* Dārukā who was killed by lord Śiva to free the *Ṛsi*.

According to the *Skandapurāṇa*[7] Śiva was cursed by the sages and his *liṅga* fell on the ground.

ततस्तन्पतितं लिङ्गं तत्क्षणाच्छंकरस्य च ।
तस्मिन्प्रपतिते भूमौ प्राकम्पत वसुन्धरा ॥

The *Vāmanapurāṇa*[8] says that after the death of Satī, Śiva became mad and entered the forest called *Dārukāvana* where he disturbed the wives of the sages and the sages cursed him, as a result of which the *liṅga* of Śiva fell on the ground and it expanded to such an extent that it touched both the lower region and upper region of the world.

According to the *Skandapurāṇa*, *liṅga* worship was first established at DV in Garwal. The *Camatkārapura* was also called Nāgaras, the original abode of the *Nāgara* Brāhmins[9]. While the *Śivapurāṇa* places DV close to western ocean[10].

It is said that one of the twelve *Jyotirliṅgas* is located in the DV and this *liṅga* is called

6. *'A Descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrit Mss.'* ed. by T. Candrasekharan, p.11817, No.D. 18942.
7. *Śrī Skandamahāpurāṇam. Prabhāsakhanda*, (187-22) Nag Publishers, Delhi, 1984, p.90.
8. *Vāmana-Purāṇa*, 6.66-7.
9. *Skandapurāṇa, Nāgara Khaṇḍa*, Chs. 1-13, 114.
10. *Śivapurāṇa*, Part 1, 56.

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Nāgeśa and is situated in the Parabhani District of the Maharashtra State[11].

It is difficult to locate DV in a specific place, due to the differences of opinion among the scholars.

As per the *Geographical Dictionary,* DV has been identified with Aundha in the Nizam's territory[12].

The poet Ratnārādhya has taken the base of *Śivapurāṇa* for the DVV and imitated Jayadeva's GG. From the comparative study of these two *kāvyas* we can come to same conclusion.

In the beginning of the kāvya DVV, the poet praised Viṣṇu and then Gaṇeśa and Śaṅkara. The poet Ratnārādhya is a follower of Śaṅkara, which is reflected in his poem also.

In the first *sarga,* he has quoted *ślokas* from Purāṇas.

Moreover, he has given eight *Avatāras* of Śiva. The DVV records the song where the glory of Śiva has been reiterated in the manner of the *Daśāvatāras* of Jayadeva. The poet has narrated *Pṛthvī, Āpaḥ, Tejas, Vāyu, Ākāśa (Pañcamahābhūtas)* & *Sūrya, Candra* & *Jīva.* The poet has presented Puranic story with his poetic touch. He says in his first *Aṣṭapadī* that : शङ्करभूताष्टशरीरे जय गिरिजाधिपते ।

It reminds the *nāndīśloka* of the *Śākuntalam - Yā sṛṣṭiḥ sraṣṭurādyā* etc.

The poet has described *Kavilakṣaṇam, Gītalakṣaṇam, Gītabhedam & Rāgalakṣaṇam* also. Thereafter, he talked about *Gīta.* He presents *Mālavarāga* in following verse :

विश्वं भरणकरणे । विलसित तव करुणा ।
जितरामा सुरुचिरहिमकिरणा ।

This is similar to GG's verse विश्वं चालयते अष्टतनये.....

Here in DVV, he says.....

विश्वं धारयते मृगं चालयते ह्व्यं सदा बिभ्रते.....
नन्दायामृतमूर्तयेऽष्टतनये देवाय तुभ्यं नमः ।

In the second *aṣṭapadī* the Refrain line (*dhruvapada*) is also similar to GG.

It is जय जगदीश हरे, जय जयदेव हरे.....
while जय जय शशिमौले, जय जय गिरिजाधिपते in DVV.

11. *Prācina Sanskṛti Kośa,* Part 1, p. 792.
12. Dey N.L., *The Geographical Dictionary of Ancient and Medieval India,* New Delhi,p. 53 (Pub. N.D. Jain for Oriental Books Reprint Corporation).

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The poet has explained *Rāga* and *Tālā* and their *lakṣaṇas* in detail. As we know the theme of DVV and GG is very similar, there must be some similarity between these two works also.

The concluding stanza of the first *sarga* is a benediction. The *Mālava* and *Vasanta Rāgas* are common in both the *kāvyas*, but the name of the *sarga* is different i.e. Indumauli in DVV and Sāmodadāmodara in GG. It is clear that both these names are about Śaṅkara and Kṛṣṇa respectively.

In the second *sarga* the poet has used. *Gombodhi rāga* and *Rūpaka tāla*. The *Dhruvapada* in this *sarga* is.....

अयि सखि, या केलिजुषा मां घटय ।
पुरेव शशाङ्कभरणे निरन्तरकामाम् ॥

Here Pārvatī tells her *sakhī* that, her lover is unfaithful and she desires that he should approach her. The name of the *sarga* is *Atyaśaṅkaraḥ*.

In *sarga* third, Śiva searches for Pārvatī and feels sorrow for his deeds, so the name of this *sarga* is *Sāparādhānutāpaḥ*.

In the fourth *sarga* the *sakhī* addresses Śiva and expresses her sorrow at Pārvatī's separation from Śiva.

शिव या त्वयि कलित..... विषादा..... बालिका शिवचालिका ।

The name of this *sarga* is *Skandaśaṅkaraḥ* and is similar to GG's *Snigdhamādhavaḥ*. Likewise the name of fifth *sarga* is *Sākāṅkṣāpālakaḥ* while in GG. *Sākāṅkṣapuṇḍarīkākṣaḥ*. Divine lovers are waiting to meet each-other. Here, *sakhī* should bring Pāravatī to Śaṅkara.

मम सखि गदितमनृतं.....
वसति स बालो स्फुरति शशाङ्को..... etc.

The name of the seventh *sarga* is *Nāgarikaśaṅkaraḥ* while in GG *Nāgaranārāyaṇa*. We can say that these titles are very similar to each other. Pārvatī says that .....

नागतो नाथ इह किं ? .....सखि.....रमते सादरगहारिणा.....
या विहरति शशिमौलिना.....

while in GG Rādhā says.....

हे किमिह शरणं..... सखि, या रमिता वनमालिना ।

In *sarga* eighth Pārvatī addresses Śaṅkara like Rādhā addressing to Kṛṣṇa in GG.

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याहि शङ्कर याहि शशिधर in DVV.

याहि माधव याहि केशव in GG.

Pārvatī's *sakhī* attempts to welcome Śaṅkara in ninth *sarga*. She says शङ्करे शङ्करे मा मया भामिनि कोपमये । is very similar to GG, where she says..... माधवे मा कुरु भामिनि कोपमये ।

The titles of both the *sargas* of DVV & GG are respectively Madaśaṅkaraḥ and Mugdhamukundaḥ, so there is some similarity in name of the *sargas* and Refrain of these *sargas* in both the works. Name of tenth *sarga* is also similar, *Caturabahubhujaḥ* of DVV and *Caturacaturbhujaḥ* of GG.

The names of the last two cantos of DVV and GG are respectively *Vilāsaḥ* and *Digambaraḥ* and *Sānandadāmodaraḥ* and *Suprītapītāmbaraḥ*. (sarga eleventh and twelfth)

The Refrain of these two *kāvyas* are.....

DVV	GG
सभर समभिसर बाले स्निग्धे	मुग्धे मधुमय अनुसर राधिके
प्रविश बालशङ्कर निवास कुरु	प्रविश राधे माधव समीपमिह
ननु भवमनुभव बाले शिवमिह	क्षणमधुना नारायणमनुगतमनुसर राधिके
समुवाचतां रतिमन्तरे	निजगाद सा यदुनन्दने
पशुपतिरधिवसति	क्रीडति हृदयानन्दने

In DVV, the poet extols his own knowledge of music, his deep devotion to Śiva, his delicate delineation of sentiments and his poetical charm and grace. Some times he has used *Śabdānuprāsa, Madhyānuprāsa* and *Antyānuprāsa* in his *Aṣṭapadī*.

After comparing DVV with GG, we can say that in our country, songs of colloquial language have greatly influenced the poets. Two main aspects of these songs are *Śṛṅgāra* and *Dharma*. Due to muscial influence, the songs are enjoyed by every one. However, we feel that musical type of works have a minor place in literature. This is a new style of expression of feeling.

The style of using Refrain line is taken from the *Maṇḍala* IIIrd of *Ṛgveda*, (3.55) महद्देवानामसुरत्वमेकम् ।

A comparative study of the similar expressions found in the *Rāga, Tāla* and Refrain lines of both the works, has been shown in a table at the end of this article.

Further, on a careful scrutiny of the twelve cantos of DVV, it is evident that the poet Ratnārādhya very closely follows the GG in constructing the overall structure of his *kāvya*

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where he has utilised the Jayadevic mode of description and manner of expression. Though the poet closely imitates the GG for the beautification of his poetry, yet, the content is quite different in both the works. While the GG describes the romantic love episode between Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa, the DVV presents Puranic story with his poetic touch. It also records a song where the glory of Śiva has been reiterated in the manner of the Kṛṣṇa's *Daśāvatāras* and in *Aṣṭamūrti* of Śiva.

The language of this work is smooth, melodious and charming. Though, there was a scope of sensuous descriptions or erotic interest, yet the poet has maintained the balance.

Further, the careful study of the table of all twelve *sargas* indicates that both the DVV and GG have used largely the *Rāgas* and *Tālas* of Karṇāṭakī classical Music., e.g. in DVV these *Rāgas* are used *Śaṅkarābharaṇam, Sāraṅga, Pantumakhāri, Punnagavarāli, Surathi, Malaharī, Drāmiḍam, Bantuvarāli* etc.

Tālas such as *Aṭṭa, Rūpaka, Zampaka* etc. indicate extensive use of *Karṇāṭakī* classical Music in the melodies.

The original manuscript of DVV is from Chennai and the script of the Ms. is Grantha- which is one of the South Indian scripts. All these indicate that it is very likely that the poet Ratnārādhya hailed from South India.

P.T.O.....

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A Comparative Table

दारुकावनविलास

सर्ग नंबर	राग	ताल	ध्रुवपद	सर्गनाम
१	मालव	आदि	जय जय	इन्दुमौलि
	भैरव	अट्ट	गिरिजाधिपते	
	वसन्त	अट्ट	जय जय शशिमौले	
	रामकलि		शिवमवतदिदं शशिवदना	
अष्टशरीर of शङ्कर				
२	देवगान्धारी	रूपक	रमयति कामपि	अत्यशङ्करः
	गौम्बोधि		रतिपतिवैरी अयि सखि	
३	भूपाल	रूपक	अयि सखिरूषा चलितया त्वया निशि किं कृतः ।	सापराधानुतापः
४	सौराष्ट्र	यमुना	या त्वयि कलितविषादा	स्कन्दशङ्करः
	दशाक्षि	अट्ट	बालिका शिवचालिका	
५	आहरि	अट्ट	नागतो नाथ इह किं	साकांक्षापालकः
		झम्पक	मम सखि गदितमनृतं वसति स बालो स्फुरति शशाङ्को	
६	आनन्दभैरवी	आदि	बाला केलिवने	गलिलाभाषः
	कैदारगौल		शशिमौले	
७	शङ्कराभरण	अट्ट	नागतो नाथ इह किं....	नागरीकशङ्करः
	सारङ्ग	अट्ट	सखि....रमते सादरगहारिणा	
	पन्तुमखारी		या विहरति शशिमौलिना	
	पुन्नागवरालि			
८	मलहरि	रूपक	याहि शङ्कर याहि शशिधर	विलासगौरी
	द्रामिडम्	अट्ट		
९	सुरठि	द्रडिम	शङ्करे शङ्करे मा मया भामिनि कोपमये	मदशङ्करः
१०	मुखरि		अये मृदुलहृदये	चतुरबहुभुजः
११	कल्याणि	अट्ट	सरभसमभिसरबाले स्निग्धे....	विलासः
	बन्तुवरालि	झंप्य	प्रविश बालशङ्कर निवासं	
१२	नाथनामक्रिया	आदि	ननु भवमनुभव बाले शिवमिह गिरिजानायकम् समुवाचतां रतिमन्तरे पशुपतिरधिवसति....	दिगम्बरः

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A Comparative Table

गीतगोविन्द

सर्ग नंबर	राग	ताल	ध्रुवपद	सर्गनाम
१	मालव	रूपक	जय जगदीश हरे	सामोद-दामोदरः
	गुर्जरी	यति	जय जयदेव हरे	
	वसन्त	रूपक	विलासिनिविलसितकेलिपरे	
	रामगिरी	यति		
दशावतार of विष्णु				
२	मालव	एकताली	मदनमनोरथभावितया सविकारम्	आक्लेशकेशवः
३	गुर्जरी	यति	हरि हरि अनादरतया गता सा कुपितेव	मुग्धमधुसूदनः
४	कानड	एक	भावनया त्वयि लीना	स्निग्धमाधवः
	देशाख्य	एकताली	राधिका विरहे तव केशव	
५	देशवराडी	पडिमठ	तव विरहे वनमालि	साकाङ्क्षपुण्डरीकाक्षः
	गुर्जरी	एकताली	सखि सीदसि धीरे समीरे यमुनातीरे वसति वने वनमालि	
६	गुणकारी	रूपक	नाथ हरे सीदति राधा वासगृहे	सोत्कण्ठवैकुण्ठः
७	मालव	पडिमठ	यानि हे किमिह शरणं	नागरनारायणः
	वसन्त	एकताली	विलसितयुवतिरधिकगुणा	
	गुर्जरी	एकताली	सखि या रमिता वनमालिना	
	देशाख	गौडीवामठ		
८	भैरव	यति	याहि माधव याहि केशव	विलक्षलक्ष्मीपतिः
९	गुर्जरी	यति	माधवे मा कुरु भामिनि कोपमये	मुग्धमुकुन्दः
१०	देशीयवराडी	अट्ट	देहि मुखकमलमधुपानम्	चतुरचतुर्भुजः
११	वसन्त	यति	मुग्धे मधुमय.....अनुसर राधिके	सानन्ददामोदरः
	विराडी	अट्ट	प्रविश राधे माधवसमीपमिह	
१२	विभास	एकताली	क्षणमधुना नारायणमनुगतमनुसर राधिके	सुप्रीतपीताम्बरः
	रामकली	रूपक	निजगाद सा यदुनन्दने क्रीडति	
	गौडी		हृदयानन्दने	

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VICĀRADĪPA OF BHAGAVATKAVI BHAṬṬA : AN UNKNOWN BUT REMARKABLE *VĀDAGRANTHA*•

NINA C. BHAVNAGARI*

Gujarat has voluminously and substantially contributed to Sanskrit Literature almost in all the areas- Veda, Vedāṅga, philosophy, poetics, poetry, drama, technical sciences, linguistics, grammar and so on. Fortunately, we have at least a collective record of this voluminous contribution by now[1]. We can be proud of a number of scholars and creative writers who hailed from Gujarat. Āśādhara Bhaṭṭa was one of them. He has given at least six works in Sanskrit inclusive of those on grammar, poetics, Vedānta etc. A few of them are still unpublished and are in manuscript form. The name of Āśādhara Bhaṭṭa (AB) is quite well-known to Sanskrit scholars due to his scholarship particularly in poetics and grammar[2]. An equally erudite student of his, named Bhagavatkavi Bhaṭṭa has given a small but compact and peculiar *vādagrantha* entitled *Vicāradīpa*(VD). The only manuscript (*codex unicum*) of this work is preserved in Chunilal Gandhi Vidyabhavan, Surat[3]. The work is on poetics, *śabdaśakti*, the powers of word, yet it is not noticed by any of the cataloguers like Aufrecht (*Catalogus Catalogorum*) or by P.V. Kane or S.K. De, the two reputed writers on history of poetics. The text of VD is complete & has six concluding verses and the colophon. The names of the author Bhagavatkavi Bhaṭṭa (BKB) and his father Ānandarāma Bhaṭṭa are clearly mentioned in the colophon[4]. The author belonged to *Raika (Rāyakawāḷa)* brahmin family. In the last two concluding verses, BKB has stated even the name of his native place Lālīgrāma[5], which is situated some 25 kms. from Ahmedabad. The date when the author

Journal of the Oriental Institute, Vol. 50, Nos. 1-4, Sept.-June 2000-2001 Issue, pp. 299-303.

• This paper was presented in the Manuscriptology Section at the 40th Session of AIOC held in Chennai during 28-30th May, 2000. Of course, it is in a detailed and revised form here.

* 5, Green Park Apts., Near Jivan Vikas Society, Athwaline, Surat-1.

1. *Vide* : *'Contribution of Gujarat to Sanskrit Literature', Dr. M.I. Prajapati Felicitation Volume,* Dr. M.I. Prajapati Ṣaṣṭipūrti Sanmāna Samiti, Pātaṇa, 1998.
2. Mishra Jagadishprasad, '*Āśādharabhaṭṭa*' (Hindi), Eastern Book Linkers, I Edition, Delhi, 1987.
3. Acc. NO.1555, Sr.No.115, Śivadatta Śukla Collection of Manuscripts.
4. इतिश्रीरेकज्ञातीयानन्दरामभट्टात्मजेन भगवता रचितोऽयं ग्रन्थः संपूर्णतामगमत् । VD, $F_{20}O$
5. लालीग्रामस्थितिजुषा नाम्ना भगवताधुना । VD ५.a $F_{20}O$

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completed this work is also recorded in the last concluding verse which is V.S. 1860 (i.e. 1804 A.D.)[6]. BKB clearly states the name of AB as his *guru*[7]. He has written another commentary work *Nūtanatarīṭīkā* on *Rasataraṅgiṇī,* a famous work by Bhānudatta[8]. Incidentally, it should be noted that the only ms. of *Rasataraṅgiṇī* with *Nūtanatarīṭīkā* is with Oriental Institute, Baroda. (Acc.No. 10842.K.100). In the *maṅgalaśloka* of VD, BKB offers his salutations to his *guru,* Viṣṇu, Śiva with Aṁbā, Sūrya and Gaṇeśa[9]. In *Nūtanatarī* he bows down to Gaurī and Śiva[10]. In the course of various discussions on the topic under treatment, BKB evinces a strong inclination towards *Bhāgavatapurāṇa* also. Being a *Śaiva* brahmin, he cherished a secularistic approach towards religion. The mss. of BKB's both the works are traced from Gujarat. His *vidyāguru* AB belonged to Gujarat and Lālīgrāma is still there near Ahmedabad. These facts lead us to the inference that he definitely belonged to Gujarat.

It is, however, particularly intended here, to introduce VD as a *Vādagrantha,* which contains ample evidence of BKB's wide scholarship and acumen. He gives references, citations and verses from a number of śāstra- works, Vedic literature, works on Pāṇinian grammar, epics, Purāṇas and classical literature, too. The subject depicted in VD is *śabdaśakti,* powers of word, viz. *abhidhā, lakṣaṇā* and *vyañjanā.* The same subject is dealt with in a couple of works by AB. Both the works, *Kovidānanda* (KA) and *Triveṇikā* (Tr.) are quite well-known. The former is meant for scholars and the latter for commoners. AB includes all the minutest details related to the topic *śabdaśakti* in KA alongwith subtle technicalities and it is written in verse with an autocommentary. But to fulfil the requirements of his average students, he softens the subtle technicalities in Tr. and treats the same subject in more comprehensive and simple prose style. Within themselves, both these works do full justice to the topic in hand. A comparative study of VD, KA and Tr. clearly shows that BKB has almost nothing new or original to state so far as the theoretical aspect of the subject is concerned. And no scholar can add anything new after stalwarts like Ānandavardhana, Mammaṭa and their successors have already explored the subject in its minute and subtle technicalities.

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6. संवदष्टादशे षष्टितमेऽब्दे मासि चाश्विने ।
   शुक्ले सोमे च पञ्चम्यां प्राप्तः संपूर्णतामयम् ॥६॥ VD $F_{20}O$
7. विस्तरस्तु आशाधरगुरुकृतत्रिवेणिकायां द्रष्टव्यः । VD $F_{12}O$
8. विस्तरस्तु मत्कृते रसतरङ्गिणीव्याख्यानरूपनूतनतरीयनाम्नि ग्रन्थे द्रष्टव्यः । VD $F_{13}R$
9. श्रीमद्गुरोः पादयुगं प्रणम्य श्रीशं च साम्बं तपनं गजास्यम् । VD $F_{1}O$
10. गौरीं त्रिलोकजननीं जनकं जगत्याः शम्भुं शशाङ्ककलया च विराजमानम् । हृत्पुण्डरीककुहरे स्थिरभावयोगगम्यं नमामि भगवानहमर्थसिद्ध्यै ॥ (नूतनतरी $F_{1}O$)

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BKB is quite conscious of this fact. He does not want to duplicate upon his *guru*. Then what is his purpose in writing this work ? We find the clue in the very first *maṅgalaśloka* of VD, which is his *pratijñāśloka* also :

शास्त्रेति शब्दस्य विचारदीपं कुर्वे विवादं भगवान् सुबोधम् । (VD F_1O)

(I, Bhagavān, compose this work named *Vicāradīpa*, about the *śāstra*- science of word in the form of a comprehensive discussion.)

This implies that BKB proposes to compose a *vādagrantha*. *Vāda* is a technical term of *Nyayā* system, and it is defined as *Tattvabubhutsvoḥ kathāvādaḥ*. It is a discourse of those who are in pursuit of truth. Thus BKB intends in this treatise to form discourses or debates connected with *śabdaśakti*, the science of word (especially used in literature i.e. poetic word). He does not merely want to give a simple *prakaraṇagrantha* on the topic. Āśādhara, his teacher kept the aim of presenting views of the ancients about the topic in KA:

प्राचां वाचां विचारेण शब्दव्यापारनिर्णयम् ।
करोमि कोविदानन्दं लक्ष्यलक्षणलक्षितम् ॥ (KA.I; ii)

In writing Tr., his objective was somewhat different :

प्रणम्य पार्वतीपुत्रं कोविदानन्दकारिणा ।
आशाधरेण क्रियते पुनर्वृत्तिविवेचना ॥ (Tr.I; i)

In Tr. he intended to treat the same topic i.e. functions of word, in a simple comprehensive form for the novice, his average pupils. Thus both his works are *prakaraṇa-granthas* on the topic, whereas BKB makes his work deliberately, a *vādagrantha*.

With a view to justifying this nomenclature for his work, BKB includes a number of technical discussions and renders them in *bhāṣya* style, i.e. presenting the arguments of *pūrvapakṣa*- opposition and then a reply to them, and this style is evident throughout the work in VD. Following are such debatical discourses we come across in VD:

(1) How the word *śāstra* is derived and it is applicable to the works dealing with such debates and discussions in general, even to *kāvya*, an objective of which is instruction;

(2) How the theory of *sphoṭa* propounded by the grammarians is justified;

(3) How polysemic *anekārtha* words convey their senses - simultaneously or consecutively;

(4) Whether the compound *sarvaguṇavān* - a *karmadhāraya* with *matvarthīya* suffix - is justified so far as Pāṇinian system of grammar is concerned;

(5) Whether the *nipātas* are *vācaka*, denotative or *dyotaka*, suggestive;

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(6) How *lakṣaṇā* operates in *na jātu brāhmaṇam hanyāt* and whether the statement is a *vidhi*, a *niyama* or a *parisaṅkhyā* from *Mīmāṃsā* point of view;

(7) How *lakṣaṇā* works in *śyālaḥ svastrorathāgrahīt* in the light of *Śrīdharī* and *Vaṁśīdharī* commentaries on *Bhāgavatapurāṇa;* and

(8) How *droṇo vrīhiḥ* is an example of *śuddhā sāropā lakṣaṇā.*

BKB also spares some lines for the grammatical discussion on *Jñāpaka* and its acceptability which ultimately leads the reader to a host of Pāṇinian *sūtras,* statements from *Mahābhāṣya* and *Kāśikā, Paribhāṣā* and what not ! But his aim here is to justify the form *subhru* (vocative singular) which occurs several times in classical literary texts and has raised questions among the commentators. BKB wants to draw our attention that even a poetic word like *subhru* can stand such a long and detailed discussion. Out of his grammar-oriented approach towards the topic he has raised doubts against some commonly-accepted readings in very well-known texts. Thus he says : इत्थं च - 'क्षत्रस्य शब्दो भुवनेषु रूढ' (रघु.२,४३) इति पाठमनादृत्य 'क्षत्रेति शब्दो भुवनेष्वि'ति पाठोऽङ्गीकार्यः (VD F_1R) and again he states : प्रसविष्यध्वमिति (श्रीमद्भगवद्गीता ३,१०) सार्वत्रिकः पाठस्तु चिन्त्यः । स्यप्रत्यये लोटोऽसंभवात् । लङि अडागमस्य दुर्वारत्वाच्च । (VD F_{17}R) BKB seems to be keen on exploring whether a poetic word is also capable of standing close to the scrutiny of the *śāstra* or not.

All these discussions in the form of discourse would not have formed a part of a systematic *prakaraṇagrantha.* They are specifically brought in VD, though one may be prompted to comment that these discussions are remotely connected with the central topic of the work. The reason is, BKB thoroughly follows his *pratijñā* to make this a *vādagrantha.* He minutely has observed the gaps and picked up the words which bear the potentiality of systematic treatment. He has particularly emphasised the grammatical aspect. He seems to have been prompted into this by a statement of his *guru* AB in KA :

शब्दब्रह्मविचारेण परं ब्रह्मावगम्यते ।
शब्दवृत्तिविचारोऽयं कृतस्तस्माच्छिवप्रदः ॥३, ४१॥

The knowledge of *śabdabrahman* leads to the realisation of the Supreme Reality-*Parabrahman.* From this small incentive BKB tries to spin out a substantial statement to claim the *śāstra*-status for his subject. He tries to do it in a number of ways. He states that *kāvya* can be called a *śāstra* because it is instructive : इत्थं च काव्यस्याप्युपदेशकत्वाच्छास्त्रत्वम् । अस्योपदेशकत्वं चोक्तमालङ्कारिकैः । (VD F_3O). And again :

पौराणीं वृत्तिमाश्रित्य ये जीवन्ति द्विजातयः ।
ते सूर्यमण्डलं भित्त्वा यान्ति ब्रह्म सनातनम् ॥

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इति स्मृत्या पुराणानुवाचनात् पौराणिकानामिव पदार्थज्ञानान्नैयायिकानामिव शब्दार्थज्ञानात् वैयाकरणानां मोक्षो भवतीति । तथा च श्रुतिः - एकः शब्दः सुष्ठु प्रयुक्तः सम्यक् ज्ञातः स्वर्गे लोके कामधुग्भवतीति । (VD F_3R)

In Indian tradition the ultimate goal of any *śāstra* is *mokṣa* and if a *Naiyāyika* can attain *mokṣa* by the knowledge of entities, if a *Paurāṇika* can emancipate himself by reciting Purāṇas, then a grammarian also can achieve that goal by realising the power, the meaning of the poetic or the systemic word (i.e. *śāstra*). Thus the germs of the argument lay in the work of AB, his teacher, and the structure of arguments has been built up by the *śiṣya* BKB. His versatility, his acumen, his scholarship comes to his help and BKB moves into various *śāstras,* branches of learning, with spontaneity and lucidity. These minutiae, niceties and subtle distinctions of hairsplitting relationships are the discussions in which lies the real contribution of BKB to Sanskrit Literature. In fact VD is a delightful excursion of a learned scholar into various *śāstras* and literary texts. BKB shows an exemplary freedom of mind, sometimes even in his differences of opinion from his *guru* (of course, with due respect). For example, his interpretation of some instances like *na jātu brāhmaṇam hanyāt* is different from that of his teacher. He quotes from a number of *śāstric* as well as literary works. His wide and deep study of Veda, Purāṇa, commentaries thereon, Pāṇinian tradition of grammar i.e. *Aṣṭādhyāyī, Mahābhāṣya Vākyapadīya, Manoramā,* works of Nāgeśa, *Siddhāntakaumudī, Paribhāṣenduśekhara,* famous works on poetics, literary texts, works on *Mīmāṃsā,* Poetry, drama and so on and so forth- is quite evident because he gives a number of quotations from all these sources. Thus BKB's scholarship is beyond doubt.

Any region can be proud of such a learned scholar. We are happy to realise that not only Āśādhara Bhaṭṭa, an excellent scholar of wide range of knowledge, but also Bhagavatkavi Bhaṭṭa, a worthy student of this well-known *paṇḍita* hailed from Gujarat which is these days accused of little acumen and lack of versatility. It is a matter of great pride and honour for us all, that a remarkable, hitherto unknown *vādagrantha,* a *śāstragrantha* named *Vicāradīpa* could be brought to light to convince the world of scholars, of Gujarat's long-standing claim to scholarship.

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PREDETERMINATION AND FREE WILL IN THE TEACHING OF RAMAṆA MAHARṢI (1879-1950)- A CRITICAL REAPPRAISAL

ARVIND SHARMA*

I

In 1984 I published a paper on Ramaṇa Maharṣi's views on the issue of predetermination and free will[1]. The ensuing years have allowed me to explore the issue further and in this paper I would like to present the results of my subsequent research. They have resulted in (to me) the surprising discovery that I had in fact *undertstated* Ramaṇa's commitment to predetermination in my earlier article. It had struck me even then as odd that, given the temper of modern India, Ramaṇa Maharṣi should have espoused predetermination to the extent that he did; it therefore comes to me even as a greater surprise that, on further investigation, his belief in predetermination should turn out to be even more thorough-going than seemed to have been the case earlier. This new conclusion has emerged from my attempt to tie what I thought were "some loose ends"[2] in his teaching on predetermination and free will. I will now proceed to identify those loose ends and demonstrate how the attempt to straighten them out disclosed an even more rigid form of predetermination than had been envisaged earlier.

II

In my earlier article I had identified the following ways in which the "predeterministic severity" of Ramaṇa Maharṣi's position could be toned down.

(1) Ramaṇa Maharṣi seemed to admit cases of transferability of *karma*, as when it was implied his cancer could be the result of his having taken on himself the bad *karma* of others[3].

(2) Ramaṇa Maharṣi seemed to allow for the fact that actions performed in this life could

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Journal of the Oriental Institute, Vol. 50, Nos. 1-4, Sept.-June 2000-2001 Issue, pp. 305-317.

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1. Arvind Sharma, "Predetermination and Free Will in the Teaching of Ramana Maharsi (1879-1950)," *Religious Studies* 20: 615-626
2. *Ibid,* p.622
3. *Ibid,* p.617

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change future lives. This would only seem possible if there was room for some exercise of free will[4].

(3) Ramaṇa Maharṣi seemed to allow for such room in the realm of mental reactions[5]. In this respect he seemed to concur with the following formulation of the doctrine of *karma*, that "*Karma* determines the action but not the modes of the action. Jyoti's *karma* may cause him to perform a specific act, but Jyoti determines whether he acts greedily, cruelly, selfishly, charitably, kindly, lovingly, etc."[6]

(4) Ramaṇa Maharṣi seemed to allow for such freedom even more clearly in the sphere of *moral and spiritual development.*[7] In this respect, he seemed to concur with the formulation of the doctrine of *karma* that while in respect to the consequences of past *karma* a person's "life is characterized by the strictest necessity", the doctrine "implies freedom also, viz. in the matter of *ethical* advance,"[8] where we may take the ethical to include the spiritual.[9]

(5) There is occasional equivocation, at least on the face of it, as to the agent of predetermination in some of Ramaṇa Maharṣi's statements, as when he says : "Should anything happen, it happens as a result of one's past actions, of divine will and of other factors."[10] This uncertainty seemed to render the alleged rigidity of his position open to question.

(6) At some points Ramaṇa Maharṣi seemed to concede the existence of free will, as, for instance, when he observed : "Free-will and destiny last as long as the body lasts."[11] Moreover, he also referred to the *exercise* of free will :

Mr. B.C. Das, the Physics Lecturer, asked about free-will and destiny.

M. : Whose will is it ? 'It is mine', you may say. You are beyond will and fate. Abide

4. *Ibid,* p.618
5. *Ibid*
6. Troy Wilson Organ, *Hinduism : Its Historical Development* (New York, Woodbury: Barron's Educational Series, Inc., 1974), p.188
7. Swami Rajeswarananda, compiler, *Erase The Ego* (Bombay: Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, 1974), p.54
8. Hiriyanna M., *The Essentials of Indian Philosophy* (London: Allen & Unwin, 1948), p.49; *Popular Essays in Indian Phillosophy* (Mysore: Kavyalaya, 1952), p.34
9. *Ibid.,* p.50
10. Mudaliar A. Devaraja, compiler, *Gems From Bhagavan* (Tiruvannamalai: Sri Ramanasramam, 1978), p.47
11. *Talks with Sri Ramana Maharshi* (Tiruvannamalai: Sri Ramanasramam, 1984), p.152

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as that and you transcend them both. That is the meaning of conquering destiny by will. Fate can be conquered. Fate is the result of past actions. By association with the wise, the bad tendencies are conquered. One's experiences are then viewed in their proper perspective.

I exist now. I am the enjoyer. I enjoy the fruits of action. I was in the past and shall be in the future. Who is this 'I' ? Finding this 'I' to be pure Consciousness beyond action and enjoyment, freedom and happiness are gained. There is then no effort, for the Self is perfect and there remains nothing more to gain.

So long as there is individuality, one is the enjoyer and doer. But if it is lost, the divine Will prevails and guides the course of events. The individual is perceptible to others who cannot perceive divine force. Restrictions and discipline are for other individuals and not for the liberated.

Free-will is implied in the scriptural injunctions to be good. It implies overcoming fate. It is done by wisdom. The fire of wisdom consumes all actions. Wisdom is acquired by association with the wise, or rather, its mental atmosphere.[12]

Ramaṇa Maharṣi made these remarks on June 19, 1936. A year later, on June 12, 1937, on the same issue, the following exchange is recorded.

D.: Has man any Free-Will or is everything in his life pre-destined and pre-ordained ?

M.: Free-Will holds the field in association with individuality. As long as individuality lasts so long there is Free-Will. As the *śāstras* are based on this fact and they advise directing the Free-Will in the right channel.

Find out to whom Free-Will or Destiny matters. Abide in it. Then these two are transcended. That is the only purpose of discussing these questions. To whom do these questions arise ? Find out and be at peace.[13]

III

Are these "concessions" to free will a mere grabbing at the straws by those unwilling to accept a thoroughgoing predeterminism or do they genuinely modify his position? To answer this question clearly, comprehensively and conclusively, it is best to begin by restating Ramaṇa Maharṣi's fundamental position on the issue of predetermination and free will. It is provided by the following citation:

Q: I can understand that the outstanding events in a man's life, such as his country,

12. *Ibid.*, p.177
13. *Ibid.*, p. 393

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nationality, family, career or profession, marriage, death, etc., are all predestined by his *karma,* but can it be that all the details of his life, down to the minutest, have already been determined ? Now, for instance, I put this fan that is in my hand down on the floor here. Can it be that it was already decided that on such and such a day, at such and such an hour, I should move the fan like this and put it down here ?

A: Certainly Whatever this body is to do and whatever experiences it is to pass through was already decided when it came into existence[14].

One must now examine the extent to which the six "attenuating factors" apply to such a forthright statement.

(1) There is clear evidence of Ramaṇa Maharṣi praying for the recovery of his mother[15] and enabling her, according to the Hindu view, in becoming liberated as she lay dying[16]. There is also the implication of his having transferred Mrs. Taleyarkhan's bad *karma* to himself[17]. How are these to be understood consistently with predetermination ?

In the case of the mother's illness the prayer was made to God Aruṇācala (Śiva). But here is another exchange on the point of worship between the Maharṣi and another advanced seeker, Seshadri:

Maharṣi however kept silent. Then Seshadri, expressing his own view, said: "If one worships God Arunachala He will grant salvation."

Maharshi: "Who is the person who worships and who the worshipped ?

Seshadri breaking into a loud laugh said, "That is just what is not clear."

Then Maharṣi expounded for about an hour the Advaitic realization of Unity- of everything including God, the world and the individual souls. Seshadri patiently and quietly listened and at the end got up and said: "I cannot say anything; all this is dark to me. I at any rate worship." So saying he faced the crest of the hill Arunachala, then prostrated himself ten or fifteen times.[18]

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14. Godman David, ed., *The Teachings of Sri Ramana Maharshi* (New York: Arkana, 1985), p.222, emphasis added
15. Swami B.V. Narasimha, *Self-Realization : Life and Teachings of Sri Ramana Maharshi* (Tiruvannamalai: Sri Ramanasramam, 1984), p.125
16. *Ibid.,* p.128-134
17. Osborne Arthur, *Ramana Maharshi and the Path of Self-Knowledge* (New York Samuel Wiser Inc., 1971), p.185
18. Swami B.V. Narasimha, *Self-Realization: Life and Teachings of Sri Ramana Maharshi* (Tiruvannamalai: Sri Ramanasramam, 1985), p.143

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Here the context is no doubt not one of recovery from physical illness but one of gaining spiritual salvation. But Ramaṇa also says elsewhere that "Others are not responsible for what happens to us. *They are only instruments of what would happen to us some way or other.*"[19] From this it would appear that Ramaṇa's mother would seem *predestined* to be helped by her son, both when she was ill and when she was dying. Moreover, Ramaṇa Maharṣi drew on his previous unsuccessful attempt to secure Palaniswami's spiritual release when he lay dying, to ensure that the mistake of withdrawing his efforts prematurely were not repeated in the case of his mother. The workings of *karma* seem to be discernible here.[20]

The case of Mrs. Taleyarkhan also needs to be re-examined. When Ramaṇa says to her request that the cancer be tranferred to her : " And who gave it to me ?", it tends to be naturally assumed that by 'who', Mrs. Taleyarkhan is meant[21]. But the connotation of the use of "who" by Ramaṇa is often not pronominal but philosophical. Similarly, the me in 'who gave it to me' has to be understood with care in the context of Ramana's true identity[22]. If both are understood conventionally the implication of karmic transfer can be inferred, but if the statement is taken metaphysically the whole experience becomes a non-event. The following incident is worth noting in this respect.

"The Maharṣi left his mortal body in May, 1950, after having suffered excruciating physical torment for two long years. One of his arms had become cancerous. The medical men did their poor best but nothing availed. He died, but with the self-same mystic smile on his lips. Once the operating surgeon was surprised: the raw wound had to be prodded thoroughly. Declining an anesthetic, he stretched out his arm. The doctor caught his breath. The Maharṣi's face remained calm and serene- not one groan issued from his lips! Duraswami, who was there, could not bear the sight- the arm was bleeding so profusely- and went away shedding tears. The Maharṣi smiled and addressed a disciple who stood before him: "Duraswami is crying because he thinks I am suffering agonies ! It is true that my body is suffering. But oh, when will he realize that I am not this body?"[23]

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19. Brunton Paul and Mungala Venkataramaih, *Conscious Immortality* (Tiruvannamalai: Sri Ramanasramam, 1984), p.143
20. *Talks with Sri Ramana Maharshi,* p.202
21. Curiously enough, I am unable to locate a reference to this incident, surely a significant one, in Bhagavan Priya, Ma. F. Taleyarkhan, *Sages, Saints and Arunachala Ramana* (Madras: Orient Lognmans. 1970). Nor is it mentioned in S.S. Cohen, *Guru Ramana: Memories and Notes* (Tiruvannamalai: Sri Ramanasramam, 1974)
22. Swami B.V. Narasimha, *op. cit.,* 106-7; Roy Dilip Kumar and Indira Devi, *Pilgrims of the Stars* (New York: Dell Publishing Company, 1973), p.154
23. *Ibid.,* pp. 158-159

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In other words, the possibility must be considered that Ramaṇa Maharṣi was reminding Mrs. Taleyarkhan against committing, from the Advaitin point of view, the crude fallacy of identifying the *jñānī* with his physical body[24]. "The *jñānī* weeps with the weeping, laughs with the laughing, plays with the playful, sings with those who sing, keeping time to the song. What does he lose ? His presence is like a pure, transparent mirror. It reflects the image exactly as it is. But the *jñānī*, who is only a mirror, is unaffected by actions. How can a mirror, or the stand on which it is mounted, be affected by the reflections ? Nothing affects them as they are mere supports. On the other hand, the actors in the world- the doers of all acts, the *ajñānīs*- must decide for themselves what song and what action is for the welfare of the world, what is in accordance with the *śāstras,* and what is practicable."[25]

Ramaṇa Maharṣi could as well have told her as he told others: "You mistake the body for the *Guru.* But the *Guru* himself does not make that mistake. He is the formless self. That is within you."[26]

(2) It is true that at some points Ramaṇa accepts the idea of re-birth and the impact of past *karma.*[27] He clearly states that "all the activities that the body is to go through are determined when *it first comes into existence,*"[28] presumably at birth. Thus predetermination seems to possess the duration of one lifetime as its operational unit. Ramaṇa Maharṣi also adds that so far as the activities of this life are concerned: " It does not rest with you to accept or reject them. *The only freedom you have is to turn your mind inward and renounce activities there.*"[29] Presumbly the exercise of this freedom governs the course of future lives. However, he discouraged speculation about future lives and in fact was even non-committal on the question of reincarnation. An instance of disregard for future lives is provided by his Confucian response to the question. "Is there re-birth?"- "Do you know what birth is?"[30] When asked: "Is the Hindu view of reincarnation correct? ", Ramaṇa Maharṣi replied as follows on one occasion. "No definite answer is possible to this question. There are pros and cons for the view. Even the present birth is denied...."[31] Elsewhere he says: "Reincarnation can only be so long as there is ignorance. There is no incarnation either

24. Godman David, ed., *op. cit.*, pp. 39-40
25. *Ibid.*, p.41
26. Osborne, Arthur, ed., *The Teachings of Bhagavan Sri Ramana Maharshi in His Own Words* (Tiruvannamalai: Sri Ramanasramam, 1971), p.125
27. *Talks With Sri Ramana Maharshi,* p.39
28. Swami Rajeswaranada, *op.cit.* p.53, emphasis added
29. *Ibid.*, pp.53-54, emphasis added
30. Cohen S.S., *op.cit.,* p.44
31. *Talks With Sri Ramana Maharshi,* p.473

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now, nor was there before, nor will be hereafter. This is the truth."[32]

Ramaṇa Maharṣi did not always resort to such *ajātivāda*. When told that he apparently did not have a human *guru* he remarked: "I might have had one at one time or another."[33] As he did not have one in this life the presumption of one in a past life is indicated. But what the material presented above does indicate is that (1) events in this life are predetermined; (2) future lives are influenced by the reaction to the events of this life; (3) Ramaṇa's primary interest is in renouncing activities, not in perpetuating them and such renunciation is "always in the mind,"[34] and that the acceptance of predetermination facilitates such renunciation[35]. Hence Ramaṇa's focus is heavily on this life and hence on predetermination as an aid to liberation in *this* life.

(3) It must be recongized that the renunciation of action mentally includes thoughts, feelings, etc. This is not immediately apparent but it seems that in Ramaṇa Maharṣi's view anything which is *experienced* at any level of body or *mind* is predetermined. This is a very important, vital and subtle point, as there is a tendency to associate action with external physical action alone and therefore predetermination only with predetermination of external physical actions. It is the ego which "is bound by destiny"[36] and the "ego pertains to *all* the waking activities, the consciousness, the intellect."[37]

Thus our mental life is no less predetermined than the physical. If in the following passage the word body is read as body-mind the full picture emerges. (Some lines of this passage have been quoted above but it will be apparent to the reader that the startling disclosure at the end requires a full citation).

All the activities that the body is to go through are determined when it first comes into existence. It does not rest with you to accept or reject them. The only freedom you have is to turn your mind inward and renounce activities there. *Nobody can say why that freedom alone and no other freedom is left to man. That is the Divine scheme.*[38]

As one advances one gets the uneasy feeling that the area of free will is getting increasingly circumscribed. Within the range of one life, according to Ramaṇa Maharṣi, one's

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32. *Ibid.*, p.330, Also see p.296
33. Godman David, ed. p.99
34. Mudaliar A. Devaraja, *op.cit.*, p.45
35. *Ibid*
36. Mudaliar A. Devaraja *op.cit.*, p.47
37. Brunton Paul and Mungala Venkatramamiah, *op.cit.*, p.133, emphasis added
38. Mudaliar A. Devaraja, *op.cit.*, p.46, emphasis added

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entire physical and psychological experiences are predetermined. But what about the spiritual sphere. The following extract provides the answer :

What should we do now? Only act up to the words of the master. Work within. The *Guru* is both within and without. So he creates conditions to drive you inward and prepares the interior to drag you to the centre. Thus he gives you a push from without and exerts a pull from within, so that you may be fixed at the centre. In sleep you are centred within; simultaneously with waking your mind rushes out, thinking this, that and all else. This must be checked. It is possible only for the agent who can work both within and without. Can he be identified with a body? We think that the world can be conquered with our efforts. When frustrated externally and driven internally we feel that there is a power higher than man. The existence of the higher power must be admitted and recognized. The ego is a very powerful elephant and cannot be brought under control by one less than a lion; who is no other than the *Guru* in this instance, whose very look makes the elephant tremble and die. We will know in due course that our glory lies where we cease to exist. In order to gain the state, one should surrender oneself saying:- "Lord, Thou art my refuge." The master then sees this man is in the fit state to receive guidance and so guides him.

The best instruction is heart-to-heart speech in silence.

Q. When after long struggles one attains, is the attainment of his own act or action of the spirit current ?

A. It is the action of the current[39].

In other words, *even in the matter of spiritual realization predetermination* prevails. God is seen by God's grace. It is in the light of the sun that the sun is seen.

(5) Now the thorny issue of multiple sources of predetermination has to be faced. Sometimes it is attributed to *karma*, that is *prārabdha*,[40] sometimes to God.[41] By "other factors" Ramaṇa Maharṣi probably means what he calls "the higher power *which does everything.*"[42] This Higher Power is perhaps best identified with God,[43] although at times Ramaṇa takes a somewhat detached view of God[44] but never of the Higher Power[45] in

39. Brunton Paul and Mungala Venkatramiah, *op.cit.*, pp.149-150, emphasis added
40. *Talks With Sri Ramana Maharshi*, p.209
41. *Ibid.*, pp.223, 409, 546
42. *Ibid.*, p.69, emphasis added
43. Brunton Paul and Mungala Venkatramiah, *op.cit.*, p.133
44. Mahadevan T.M.P., *Who Am I?* (Tiruvannamalai: Sri Ramanasramam, 1976), p.8
45. Brunton Paul and Mungala Venkatramiah, *op.cit.*, p.150

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relation to predetermined phenomena[46]. The claims of *karma* and God as sources of predetermination are reconciled by Ramaṇa in the following way:

Individual human beings have to suffer their karmas for His purpose. God manipulates the fruits of karma; He does not add or take away from it. The subconsciousness of man is a warehouse of good and bad karma. Īśwara chooses from this warehouse what He sees will best suit the spiritual evolution at the time of each man whether pleasant or painful. Thus there is nothing arbitrary[47].

Hence to whatever source we may ascribe predetermination we cannot question it according to Ramaṇa Maharṣi.

(6) One final point remains to be dealt with. Ramaṇa Maharṣi insists that free will lasts so long as individuality lasts. But he also maintains that individuality, or the ego or the mind - he uses the words synonymously[48] - is illusory. It does not really exist. Ramaṇa points out: "One is to enquire who undergoes this destiny and discovers that only the ego is bound by it and not the self, and that the *ego is non-existent.*"[49] This is further confirmed by Ramaṇa's statement about realization: "After such a realization, he feels - I was so worried before, I am after all the Self, the same as before but not affected by anything. Where is he who was miserable ? He is not to be found."[50]

The clearest exposition of this point has been offered by Arthur Osborne in relation to two pieces of dialogue which are frequently cited in this context and have been cited in my earlier paper as well. But only now is one in a position to grasp their full significance. The first relates to a question Arthur Osborne put to Ramaṇa Maharṣi by way of clarification with reference to his "reply to Mrs. Desai on the evening of January 3, 1946"[51] He asked Ramaṇa Maharṣi:

Are only the important events in a man's life, such as his main occupation or profession, predetermined, or are trifling acts also, such as taking a cup of water or moving from one part of the room to another ?

B.: Everything is predetermined.

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46. The "other factor" could also be the Self, *ibid.*, p.180
47. *Ibid.*, p.135
48. *Ibid.*, p.77
49. Swami Rajeswarananda, *op.cit.*, p.55
50. Brunton Paul and Mungala Venkatramiah, *op.cit.*, p.149
51. Osborne Arthur, ed. *op.cit.*, p.78

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I.: Then what responsibility, what free will has man ?

B.: Why does the body come into existence? It is designed for the various things that are marked out for it in this life.... As for freedom, a man is always free not to identify himself with the body and not be affected by the pleasure and pains consequent on its activities[52].

Arthur Osborne explains the full significance of the response thus: "Actually, however, the question of free will or predestination does not arise at all from the point of view of non-duality. It is as though a group of people who had never heard of radio were to stand round a wireless set arguing whether the man in the box has to sing what the transmitting station tells him to or whether he can change parts of the songs. The answer is that there is no man in the box and therefore the question does not arise. Similarly, the answer to the question whether the ego has free will or not is that there is no ego and therefore the question does not arise. Therefore Bhagavan's usual response to the question would be to bid the questioner find out who it is that has free will or predestination."[53]

The other occasion is provided by the following exchange:

Devotee : Has man any free will or is everything in his life predetermined?

Bhagavan: Free will exists together with the individuality. As long as the individuality lasts, so long is there free will. All the scriptures are based on this fact and advise directing the free will in the right channel[54].

Arthur Osborne contextualizes this answer with the previous one and explains: "Is this really a contradiction of the reply given earlier? No, because, according to Bhagavan's teaching, the individuality has only an illusory existence. So long as one imagines that one has a separate individuality, so long does one also imagine its free will. The two exist together inevitably."[55] The fact of the matter is that: "In truth the ego has no free will, because there is no ego; but on the level of apparent reality the ego consists of free will- it is the illusion of free will that creates the illusion of the ego. That is what Bhagavan meant by saying that 'as long as the individuality lasts, so long is there free will.' The next sentence in his answer turns the questioner away from theory to practice."[56]

The aphoristic nature of Ramaṇa Maharṣi's remark could be cleared up if his answer

52. *Ibid.*, p.78-79
53. *Ibid.*, p.79
54. Swami Rajeswarananda, *op.cit.*, p.54
55. Osborne Arthur, ed., *op.cit.*, p.80
56. *Ibid.*

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were presented as follows: "The illusion of free will exists so long as [the illusion of] individuality exists. The scriptures advise the [illusory] individual to direct his [illusory] free will in the right channel."

IV

One is thus led to the uncomfortable conclusion that Ramaṇa Maharṣi preached an astonishingly thoroughgoing form of predetermination. There are a few places where one obtains the impression that Ramaṇa Maharṣi is recommending this view not because it is true but because it might be useful. At one point he comments:

But God's will for the prescribed course of events is a good solution of the free-will problem (*vexata quaestio*). If the mind is restless on account of a sense of the imperfect and unsatisfactory character of what befalls us or what is committed or omitted by us, then it is wise to drop the sense of responsibility and free-will by regarding ourselves as the ordained instruments of the All-wise and All-powerful, to do and suffer as He pleases. He carries all burdens and gives us peace[57].

This seems to confirm the view that he might have used this doctrine as a "convenient fiction."[58] But a closer reading of Ramaṇa Maharṣi makes it quite clear that rather than recommending predetermination as true because it is useful, it rather seems to be the case that he recommends it as useful because it is true and the *concession* he makes is in allowing a role for free will when from the highest point it does not exist because individuality is illusory. The fact that he regards God's will as supreme is clear from the remark : *"It is true that the divine will prevails at all times under all circumstances. Individuals cannot act of their own accord.* Recognize the force of divine will and keep quiet."[59]

At this point it is very important to distinguish between theistic predetermination and absolutistic predetermination. The above statements of Ramaṇa emphasize God's will. Such statements are also found in the sayings of Rāmakṛṣṇa (1836-1886):

It is God alone who does everything. You may say that in that case man may commit sin. But that is not true. If a man is firmly convinced that God alone is the Doer and that he himself is nothing, then he will never make a false step.

It is God alone who has planted in man's mind what the 'Englishman' calls free will.

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57. *Talks With Sri Ramana Maharshi*, p.32
58. Deutsch Eliot, *Advaita Vedanta: A Philosophical Reconstruction* (Honolulu: East-West Center Press, 1969), p.69
59. Osborne Arthur, ed., *op.cit.*, p.64

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People who have not realized God would become engaged in more and more sinful actions if God had not planted in them the notion of free will. Sin would have increased if God had not made the sinner feel that he alone was responsible for his sin.

Those who have realized God are aware that free will is a mere appearance. In reality man is the machine and God its Operator, man is the carriage and God its Driver.[60]

The fact that events are *God-determined need not imply that they are pre-determined.* The distinction is not always made but there are clear hints in the life of Rāmakṛṣṇa that the basic insight imparted to him was not that all is predetermined but that all is God-determined and God could display his wonders in ways God chooses. As the biographer of Rāmakṛṣṇa records:

"The divine Mother places at all times before the Master the uncommon manifestations of nature, the exceptions to the general law, as if to impress upon his mind the idea that all kinds of manifestations in the world owed their origin to the will of God; in other words, He was the direct controller of the wheels of the destinies of all things and persons in the world. From such events as the Master came across from his childhood, we get the clear meaning of his words. 'The Lord of Laws can at will alter them and make new ones instead.'"[61]

But in the *Advaita* of Ramaṇa, God is a concession to empirical modes of thought. The following statement is illuminating in this context, in which three doctrines of creation are distinguished.

The *ajāta* school of *Advaita* says, 'Nothing exists except the one reality. There is no birth or death, no projection or drawing in, no *sādhaka* (practiser), no *mumukṣu* (one who desires to be liberated), no *mukta* (one who is liberated), no bondage, no liberation. The one unity alone exists for ever.' To such as find it difficult to grasp this truth and ask, 'How can we ignore this solid world we see all around us ?' the dream experience is pointed out and they are told, 'All that you see depends on the seer. Apart from the seer there is no seen.' This is called *dṛṣṭisṛṣṭi-vāda* or the argument that one first creates out of his mind and then sees what his mind itself has created.

To such as cannot grasp even this and who further argue: 'The dream experience is so short, while the world always exists. The dream experience was limited to me. But the

60. Swami Nikhilananda, tr., *The Gospel of Sri Ramakrishna* (New York: Ramakrishna - Vivekananda Center, 1952), pp.379-380

61. Swami Saradananda, *Sri Ramakrishna: The Great Master,* tr. Swami Jagadananda (Madras: Sri Ramakrishna Math, 1952), pp.588-589

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world is felt and seen not only by me but by so many and we cannot call such a world non-existent,' the argument called '*sṛṣṭi-dṛṣṭi-vāda*' is addressed and they are told, 'God first created such and such a thing out of such and such an element and then something else and so forth.' That alone will satisfy them. Their mind is not otherwise satisfied and they ask themselves 'How can all geography, all maps, all sciences, stars, planets and the rules governing or relating to them, and all knowledge be totally untrue ?'. To such it is best to say: 'yes. God created all this and so you see it.' All these are only to suit the capacity of the hearers. The absolute can only be one.''[62]

If we now relate predetermination to these three views, then Ramaṇa's position of predetermination becomes metaphysically clear. On the first view there is no question of predetermination because there can be no determination that anything happened: ''Whatever you see happening in the waking state happens only to the knower, and since the knower is unreal, nothing in fact ever happens.''[63] The last view above, although resorted to on occasion by Ramaṇa as an ''expedient,''[64] though not as fiction[65], connects predetermination with God. But Ramaṇa personally '' insisted that serious seekers should be satisfied''[66] with the second view - of *dṛṣṭi-sṛṣṭi-vāda*. According to this view, whatever is projected by the self is predetermined by its *vāsanās* or latent tendencies which it keeps with itself ''just as a miser keeps his treasures always with himself and never parts with them.''[67] Ramaṇa describes in detail how this projection occurs[68] and compares it to the screening of a film.[69] From our point of view the conclusion of this paper the simile is particularly apt - *human life is as completely predetermined as what is going to happen on the screen once the movie has commenced.*

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62. Mudaliar A. Devaraja, *op.cit.*, pp.3-4
63. Godman David, ed., *op.cit.*, p.191
64. *Ibid.*, p.184
65. Brunton Paul and Mungala Venkataramiah, *op.cit.*, pp.180, 187
66. Godman David, ed., *op. cit.*, p.183
67. Brunton Paul and Mungala Venkataramiah, *op.cit.*, p.65
68. *Ibid.*, pp.65-66
69. *Spiritual Instruction of Bhagavan Sri Ramana Maharshi* (Tiruvannamalai: Sri Ramanasramam, 1974), pp.10-13

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ŚAKTISM IN GUJARAT AND *GUJARĀTĪ* LITERATURE•

L. M. JOSHI*

Among the different branches of Hindu Religion such as Śaivism, Śaktism, Vaṣṇavism etc. one which relates to Śiva and Śakti is the oldest. Śakti is an important member of Hindu pantheon. If we study Puraṇa literature, we find that Śakti has attained the highest position where she is counted in the trinity along with Viṣṇu and Śiva.

The very concept of Śakti is not only found in the Vedas[1] but it's antiquity can be traced back to the Indus Valley civilization. The 19th century excavations at Mohenjodaro and Harappa are very much helpful in this respect. According to the scholars the terracota figures found in the Indus Valley resembles to the Deity of Vegetation i.e. Śākambharī and the female deity in general. The only idol of worship explored therein bears similarity with Śivaliṅga[2]. Even the concept of Śiva and Śakti as inseparable is as old as epics and Purāṇas wherefrom the *Ardhanārīśvara* form has become popular.

Those who worship the supreme deity exclusively as a female principle are called Śākta. The Śāktas conceive this Great Goddess as the personification of primordial energy and the source of all divine and cosmic evolution. Hence Purāṇas glorify Śakti in all her aspects, the creative, preservative and destructive. Thus accordingly she creates, preserves and destroys the universe[3] and hence she is called Śrīmātā.

In the Śākta scheme of cosmogonical process, the ummanifested *Prakṛti* alone existed before creation. She wished to create, and having assumed the form of the Great Mother, she created Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Śiva out of her own body. Thus in Mother Goddess cult, the Devī is transformed into the eternally existing all powerful Female Principle, the Prakṛti or Śakti and having associated with the male principle, the *Puruṣa,* she becomes Jagadambā

Journal of the Oriental Institute, Vol. 50, Nos. 1-4, Sept.-June 2000-2001 Issue, pp. 319-325.

• This paper was presented in the National Seminar on "Philosophy, Religion, Culture & Society : 12th to 20th Century. Gujarat and Gujarati Literature", Organized by ICPR, held in Delhi 4-6, May 2002.

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1. *Ṛgveda* I-92, I-113, Aditi is praised. Moreover Uṣas *Sūktas* describe Virgin Goddess. Sūryā Devī. We also find *Vāksūkta* in *Ṛgveda* X-26.
2. Preface to *Śakti and her episodes* by Dr. Pushpendrakumar, Eastern book linkers, New Delhi
3. *Lalitā Sahasranāma,* 1-3 names of Goddess viz. Śrīmātā, Śrīmahārājñī, Śrīmatsiṃhāsaneśvarī.

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or Jaganmātā, the mother of the universe, the creator of the Gods.

The Śakti, as the very word itself denotes, means power. It can be seen through the different phenomena of life itself. As the *Devīsūkta* in *Śapatśatī* records *Yā devī sarvabhūteṣu* etc. the various forms of the *Śakti*. Each one is power including illusion *Bhrānti* which is also a manifestation of supreme power, the *Parāśakti*. As a result later on it resulted into many forms (i.e. many powers). From the *Śaptaśati*, We know that there is some sort of exchange between the devotee and Goddess as *dadāti pratigṛhṇāti nānyathaiṣā prasidhyati*.

In Śakti cult we find two aspects of the Mother Goddess. One is benign and another is terrible. Further these aspects assumed many forms as per the desire of the worshipper. Hence the forms like Durgā, Mahālakṣmī, Bhuvaneśavarī, Lalitā, Bhairavī, Kālī, Chinnamastā, Bagalāmukhī, Dhūmāvatī etc. and such others are found in the *Śakti*.

To appease, to please, to cherish the desired Goddess, certain rituals are also prescribed in this cult. Since the roots of Śaktism are traced back to the time of Indus Valley Civilization. It is very difficult to decide exactly when Śaktism would have entered in Gujarat Region. Since the remains of the Harappan settlements stretch from the Makran Coast to Kathiawar. We can accept the spread of Śaktism in Gujarat since then. But not in the same form as we find it today. During the course of time it might have changed.

Thus Śaktism in Gujarat has existed since long. Shri Narmadashankar Mehta[4] mentions that it can be inferred that Śākta cult would have entered into the state of Gujarat when Shri Krishna entered in Dvarka.

Dvarka is one of the important *Śaktipīṭhas* in Gujarat. Now in the Śakti cult pilgrimages to *Śaktipīṭha* comes under the ritualistic aspect of *Śakti* cult.

The ritualistic aspect of this cult is also very important for studying the spread of *Śakti* cult. This aspect has entered in this cult from the *Purāṇa* tradition. Thus this Śakti cult is having not only theoretical or philosophical aspect but practicising aspect also i.e. worshipping the Mother Goddess. This worship consists of *Pūjā*, donations, sacrifices, *Vratas*, Meditations, *Cakra-pūja*, and pilgrimages to *Śakti-pīṭhas*. The process is called *upāsanā, sādhanā* etc. and different methods and traditions to be followed in this way of worship are called *Ācāras*. Based on this, there are four types of *Ācāras* viz., *Dakṣiṇā-cāra, Vāmācāra, Kaulācāra* and *Samayācāra*. *Dakṣiṇācāra* and *Samayācāra* are similar and similarly the *Vāmācāra* and *Kaulācāra* are also quite similar. Before Śaṅkarācārya, *Vāmācāra* was very much followed by Śāktas but Śaṅkarācārya propounded *samayācāra*, and *Śāktās*

4. *Śākta sampradāya* (Gujarati), Farbus Gujarati Sabha, Mumbai, 1932, p.102

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started following the same. Even then some *sādhakas* continued practising *Vāmācāra.*

Thus *Śaktipīṭhas* formed integral part of the *śāktasampradāya.* As mentioned in the *Mantracūḍāmaṇi tantra,* there are 52 *pīthas.* But the *Devībhāgavata* in the seventh *Skandha* mentions 108 *pīṭhas* and the *Devī Gīta* mentions 72 *pīṭhas*[5]. Thus number varies. But the places of *Śakti pūjā* plays a very vital role in *Śakti* worship.

The *Sādhaka* (devotee) has to perform the *bahiryāgapūjā.* That is practicing five limbs of *bahiryāga* viz., *japa, homa, tarpaṇa, mārjana* and *brahmabhojana.* All these activities are to be performed physically with speech and can also visit the Śaktipīṭhas. After performing the *bahiryāga pūjā, sādhaka* becomes eligible for *antaryāga* in which he has to create a *paṭala, paddhati, varma* etc. in his body with the help of *mantras.* He has to consider heart and other important limbs of his body as different *pīṭhas* and ultimately worship the Goddess in six psychic centres (*cakras*). Finally he has to recite the secret *mantras* and *Stotras* of Goddess. In this process the *Sādhaka* has to worship the Goddess symbolically, by using symbols like pot with holes in it, by growing herbs and plants in the pot etc. If he has mastered all the steps of *paśubhāva* he can practice and worship Goddess in the form of *Vergin girl.* There are three types of *Sādhakas* found in *Śāktasampradāya* viz. *paśū, Vīra, and Divya.*

In Gujarat if we see geographically, we find the oldest Dwarka Pīṭha of Goddess *Rukmiṇī* in the Western costal area. The *Ambikāpīṭha* in Modern Ambāji (ārāsura), the *Kālikāpīṭha* on *Pāvakācala* and also on Girnar. The *Prabhāsapīṭha* and *piṇḍaraka kṣetra* in Kathiawad are also well-known. The Goddess Puṣkarekṣiṇī is to be worshipped in *Prabhāsa.* near Porbandar, there is *Kaulagiri pīṭha* where Goddess *Harasiddhi* is to be worshipped. In Kutch, there is a temple of *Āśāpurī* and now the place is called *mātā no madha* near Nārayana Sarovar. There is a temple of Śavavāhanā Cāmuṇḍā in Porbandar, which is considered to be atleast 300 years old and now it is under the Archaelogical survey of India.

In the place called beṭa near Okha, there is a temple of *Abhayamāta,* in Halwad Sundaripīṭha and in Kalawad Śītalāmātā are also found. Near Upleta in Junagarh region we find the family Goddess *Mātramātā.* Near Bhavanagar, there is a Goddess called Khoḍiyāramātā. The place called Anasūya on the bank of river Narmada is very popular, now a days. In the Northern Gujarat Bahucarājī the form of Bālā is found in Chunval. In Kheda district near Vaso the very rare temple of the Ghrutamāṭrkā is very well-known.

Over and above, we also find temple of Goddess Lalitā which is one of the ten *mahāvidyās* is located in Ahmedabad as the community Goddess of Raikyawal Brahmins. The temple of Guddess Kṣrījambā in Khedbrahma and Goddess Tujajābhavanī in Ranu near Baroda are worshipped as the community Goddess. Bhuvaneśvarī which is again one of the

5. *Ibid.,* p.92

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ten *Mahāvidyās* is found in Gondal. In above places the different Goddesses are worshipped as per the customs and traditions prevalent in that area. Here in Gujarat some of the major *pīṭhas* and the places of small *śaktipīṭhas* reveal that *śakti* cult has always remained popular in Gujarat.

The name of Goddess Koṭṭambikā is prevailing during Maitraka period. During Chawda dynasty temples of Kānteśvarī by Vanaraj, *Vindhyavāsinī* Lahare, Bhaṭṭaraika Yogeśvarī by Yogarāja etc. were built. Śakti worship was very much prevalent during Solanki period as well.

In Gujarat in the State of Valabhi, Goddess Ambābhavanī worship was prevalent in 746 A.D. This type of reference is also found when Valbhipur was defeated at that time the queen of king Śilāditya had gone to worship Ambājī.

Thus in Gujarat we come across Ambikā, Lalitā, Bālā, Tuljābhavānī, Bhuvaneśvarī of *Śrīkula* and at the same time Mahākālī and Bhadrakālī of Kālikula. On the Pāvakācala, now known as Pavagadh, the presence of both Mahākālī and Bhadrakālī shows the propagation of Vāmācāra and Dakṣiṇācāra.

In the *Skandapurāṇa*[6], there is a chapter called *Pāvakācala māhātmyam,* where it is mentioned that Viśvāmitra practised penance over here to please the Goddess. Hence we can see that the river flowing from Pavagadh is called Viśvāmitrī which passes through Baroda at present also.

The *Śakti* worship cult is very much old in Gujarat, We do not come across any work in Gujarati language in which the doctrines and details of *Śakti*- cult are explained and elaborately discussed. Whatever we get in Gujarati literature is related to devotion of Goddess. So we can say that literature of *Śakti*-cult in Gujarati is in devotional form in which mainly devotion towards Goddess is expressed.

In this literature, the euology of different forms of Goddess, what is the ultimate form of Goddess, why Goddess is having different names and forms these topics are not discussed.

Only those poets who were the devotee of Goddess they have praised Goddesses in their poems by devotional expressions. The beauty, might and prowess of Goddess are appreciated. Goddess is also identified with Parabrahman. She is also described as having gross, subtle and ultimate form. Poet also describes goddess as omnipotent, omniscient and all-pervading creator and protector of this universe. Among those poets the first is-

1. Nātha Bhavāna (17th Century)

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6. *Ibid.,* p.108

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He was the devotee of *Śakti* and it is believed that he could compose poetic devotional songs with the grace of Goddess.

2. Then comes Vallabha Ḍhoḷā (17th to 18th Century)

Vallabha was also a brahmin by caste. It is mentioned by Shri N.D. Mehta[7] in his book that he was also poor in his study. But with the recitation of *navārṇamantra* for five years, five months and 25 days, he got the power and could visualise the form of Bālā and with her grace he could compose many devotional songs like *Ānanda no garabo, arāsura no garabo, Kālikā no garabo.*

Vallabha was discarded by many people as he was believed to be the practitioner of Vāmācāra. But with his miraculous power, he helped many people to come out of their distress and hence he was accepted by the society.

After Vallabha Bhaṭṭa, we find *Devicaritra.* This is like a translation of *Mārkaṇḍayapurāṇa* in *ākhyāna* form.

We also find the translation of *Devībhāgavata* published by Sastu Sahitya which is useful as *śākta* literature in Gujarati.

Śrī Bholānātha of *Prārthanā samāja* had also composed poems pertaining Goddess worship.

3. Then comes (1791 A.D.) Miṭhu mahārāja of village Mahisa near Dakor, who has written many chapters and rythmic songs. From his life we come to know that he could master many branches of Knowledge. He learnt *Śrīcakrayamalavidyā.* He could study 64 *tantras, yāmala* and *Ārṇava granthas.* From the study of his poetry we can conclude that with the help of his art of music and poetry, he tried to intermingle the internal *rasas* with external *rasa* in his songs.

His *śākta* literature is in both Sanskrit and Gujarati languages. In Gujarati, he has composed *Saundaryalaharī* in same metre called *Śrīlaharī.* In 32 cantos he has translated/ written *Rāsarasa.* His other Tantric works are in Sanskrit. These are *Śrīrasa, Śaktivilāsalaharī, Śivaśaktirasānukrama, Paramaśivastotra, Rasikāṣṭaka, Bhaktitaraṅgiṇī.*

4. After Miṭhu, his follower Jaṇibāi composed a poem in Gujarati called Navanāyikāvarṇana in 1802 AD. From the study of this poem, it can be said that *Jaṇibāi* was very much conversant with the details of *Tantra* like the form of *Nityāṣoḍaśikā, Śrīvidyā* etc. She could also know that different rituals of Śāktasampradāya are having spiritual significance.

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7. *Śākta Sampradāya* (*Gujarati*), Farbus Gujarati Sabha, Mumbai, 1933, p.115

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5. We have also got the *Śākta* literature of poet called Bāla, who was famous Gujarati poet. His name was Bālaśaṅkara. We come across the Śākta philosophy expressed in his poems. Generally his poems are said to be full of erotic even then we find devotion of Goddess in it-

His work on the *Saundarya Laharī* of Śaṅkarācārya is well-known which is the translation in metrical form.

We also have Śrīmannṛsiṁhācārya as the contributor to Gujarati *Śakta* literature. He has expressed his views about the *Tantra, Śākta* and *Vedānta* philosophy in his works like *Siddhāntasindhu, Bhāminībhūṣaṇa, Pañcavaradavṛttānta, Tribhuvana vijayikhādya, Sureśacaritra* and *Satīsuvarṇā.*

The work of Shri Narmadashankar Mehta[8] which is published in 1932 and latest in 1973 is the most significant. This work is in Gujarati and can be considered as most important work on the *Śākta sampradāya* as it explains each and every detail of *Śākta* tradition.

After this work we also get some works in Gujarati on *Śākta sampradāya.* Among these the translation of *Saptaśatī* in Gujarati by M.M. Hathibhai Shastri of Jamnagar and which is edited by the late Prof. Dr. Arunodaya Jani of Baroda is noteworthy.

The lyrical translation of Saundarya Laharī by Girijashankar Pathak, some of the works of Natthurama Sharma of Bilkha, the work published by Bhuvaneshwari Pitha, Gondal, Translation of Devī Māhātmya etc. are noteworthy.

Recently some portion of *Saubhāgya Bhāskara,* a commentary by Bhāskarārāya is translated by Nina Bhavnagari of Surat, which is published in 2000.

Over and above this, we have plenty of *garabās* (devotional songs) which are composed in Gujarati and being continuously sung during the auspicious days of *Durgā pūja Navaratris* in each and every villages, towns and cities in Gujarat.

Till today the *Śakti* worship is going on in Gujarat. Some of the rituals like *Caṇḍipāṭha, Navacaṇḍī, Ghaṭasthāpana* etc., are performed and followed every where in Gujarat.

Even *Śākta* tradition of Bhāskararāya is also alive in Gujarati and followers are found in Gujarat.

To name a few

Devshankar Shastri of Sanad, Near Ahmedabad., Jashuba of Kadi, Shri Raghunath Sathe of Baroda, Kumaril Shukla of Baroda.

8. *Ibid.*

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Bhaskararāya, the Ardent devotee of Goddess and prominent writer of Tantra and *Śākta* literature who with his erudition once again re-established the neglected *Śākta sampradāya* and brought it in to the main stream, was finally initiated (*Pūrṇābhiṣikta*) by a Gujarat scholar called Shivadatta Shukla of Surat. Bhāskararāya later on travelled through out India and spread the *Śākta sampradāya* by having deliberation with the scholars of other sects, by initiating people into *Śakti* cult, and also erecting temples of Goddess.

The incident of the final initiation of such a great devotee and scholar took place in Gujarat is important enough to prove that Gujarat was also ahead like other regions in *Śakti* worship during 17th cent. A.D.

About the fact that we have very few works on *Śakti* cult can be explained as follows.

1. In this *sampradāya*, it is always mentioned that a devotee should secretly worship the Goddess. If he is *Dīkṣita*, he should hide the details about the *ācāra* and *mantras* as the person other than *Dīkṣita* is not supposed to know the details. It is always found in the *Śākta* literature that certain things one should know from his *guru* as said. *Tattu gurumukhādavagantavyam*. Hence some one may not misuse or spread mis-understanding about the cult.

2. Secondly, because of the influence of Vaishnavism, sometimes people used to criticize the *Śāktas* who followed *vāmācāra* and that is why also people practicing *sādhanā* would not disclose that they follow it.

From this fact we find one couplet in Sanskrit.

antaḥ śāktā bahiḥ śaivāḥ sabhā madhye tu vaiṣṇavāḥ.

In Gujarati, we find the word *chhākṭo* which is used in bad sense is nothing but *apabhraṁśa* of *Śākta*.

But the tradition of paying homages and worshipping Mother Goddess in one or the other form continues all over Gujarat. At present Aṁbā worship during *Navarāti* has increased like anything. *Durgā pūjā*, the *Vrata* of Daśāmā, Khodiyārmā, *Vaibhavalakṣmī-Vrata, Santoṣimā-vrata* are followed everywhere by good number of devotees in Gujarat.

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A BRIEF NOTE ON THE *BHUṄGALAPURĀṆA*

JAYANT K. UMRETHIYA*

INTRODUCTION

The Oriental Institute, Baroda, possesses a manuscript of an unusual and rare work, which, though Puranic by nature, gives geographical concept of the world. Although the situation of world never changed, the concept of the world changed from time to time. The *Bhuṅgalapurāṇa* brings forth the geographical concept of olden times. *Bhuṅgalapurāṇa* means *bhuvanakośa* or the atlas of the world (*bhū*). It clearly shows the situations of the islands, oceans, mountains and cities of the Puranic times. This is comparable with the *Śrīmadbhāgavatam*[1] where we find similar type of geographical descriptions.

एषां मध्ये इलावृतं नामाभ्यन्तरवर्षं यस्य नाभ्यामवस्थितः सर्वतः सौवर्णः कुलगिरिराजो मेरुर्द्वीपायामसमुन्नाहः कर्णिकाभूतः कुवलयकमलस्य मूर्धनि द्वात्रिंशत्सहस्रयोजनवितते मूले षोडशसहस्रं तावतान्तर्भूम्यां प्रविष्टः ॥७॥

जठरदेवकूटौ मेरुं पूर्वेणाष्टादशयोजनसहस्रमुदगायतौ द्विसहस्रपृथुतुङ्गौ भवतः एवमपरेण पवनपारियात्रौ दक्षिणेन कैलासकरवीरौ प्रागायतावेवमुत्तरतस्त्रिशृङ्गमकरावष्टभिरैतैः परिस्तृतोऽग्रिरिव परितश्चकास्ति काञ्चनगिरिः ॥२७॥

The work also follows almost all the characteristics of the Purāṇa defined by the *Amarakośa* by furnishing details of the creation (*sarga*), recreation (*pratisarga*), genealogies of the sages (*vaṁśa*), cycles of Manus (*manvantarāṇi*) and the kings (*vaṁśānucaritāni*). It is a peculiar work of a combination of *bhūgola* and Purāṇa.

The B.J. Institute, Ahmedabad and Anantacharya Institute, Bombay, possess manuscripts of this type of work with a different name viz. *Bhūgalapurāṇa* or *Bhūgolaśāstra* and *Bhogala*(*bhūgola*)*purāṇa* respectively.

The famous critique Jayant Kothari[2] has furnished a list of non- jain poets, where he has summarised the work of *Bho*(*bhū*)*galapurāṇa*.

The dates of the above mentioned two mss. and that of Oriental Institute are different

Journal of the Oriental Institute, Vol. 50, Nos. 1-4, Sept.-June 2000-2001 Issue, pp. 327-332.

* Oriental Institute, M.S. University of Baroda, Vadodara.

1. *Bhāgavatapurāṇa,* 5th *Skandha,* 16th *Adhyāya*
2. Kothari, Jayant (ed.), *Jaina Gurjara Kavio,* Vol. VI, Shri Mahavir Jain Vidyalaya, Mumbai, Second Edition, p.571

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from one another and the readings of the mss. also differ. In this particular article, we are not going in details of these readings etc. but we are only providing a brief account of the ms. of *Bhuṅgalapurāṇa.*

DESCRIPTION OF THE MS. IN THE ORIENTAL INSTITUTE

Title	:	*Bhuṅgalapurāṇa*
Acc.No	:	2384
Author	:	Unknown
Language	:	Gujarati
Script	:	*Devanāgarī*
Folios	:	9
Ślokas	:	600
Lines per folio	:	Varies from 12 to 13
Letters per line	:	40
Age	:	V.S. 1915 = 1859 A.D.
D.C.	:	Cannot be ascertained (As per Dikshitar[3])
Size	:	21 x 10 cms.
Margin	:	3.5 x 3.5 cms. (both sides)

Beginning : ।।ॐ।। श्रीगणेशाय नमः ।। ।। अथ भुंगलपुराणलिख्यते ।। ।। ब्रह्मांडभांडोदरें वींध्युंदेवता ।। कालें श्रीनारायणअंगुष्टामात्रवपुकरी प्रागवडनें पांनें जल सज्या आसन करी पोढ्या ।। त्यां अनेकसहस्र जुग वही वही गया ।।

End : तप धर्मे असुचि ।। इस्त्री लंपट ।। बंधव नासी जाय ।। प्रधान लांच खाय ।। विद्यावंतनें गर्व ।। धनवंत कृपण ।। विद्या कुपात्रे ।। इति कलियुगना भाव संपूर्ण ।। एहमां युग चारनी वार्ता लिखी छे ।।

Colophon : इति श्रीभुंगलपुराणसंपूर्णः ।। श्रीरस्तु ।। शुभं भवतु ।। श्रीसंवत् १९१५ मागसर सुद १० बुधे लिषतं ।। श्री ।। ।। श्री ।।

THE WORK

In the beginning of the work, the author has given the list of 14 *yugas,* namely, *Budha, Trividha, Budbuda, Bambakāra, Dhundhukāra, Dhamadhamākāra, Tarikā, Vratamāna, Sakirana, Maṅgala, Budhamanta, Sakirsana, Anādi* and *Abheda.* The origin of creation has been delineated with beautiful language and imagination.

3. Dikshitar, V.R.R., *Purana Index,* Vol. I, University of Madras, 1951, p.6.

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एहवा चऊद जुग नारायण प्रागवडने पानडे पोढ्या छे ।। पछें परमेश्वर जाग्या ।। ज्ञानदृष्टें जोयुं ।। तिंहां पृथ्वी नही ।। आकाश नही ।। जल नही ।। वायु नही ।। अगनी नही ।। सूरज चंद्रमा नही ।। नक्षत्रमाला नही ।। कर्मधर्म नही ।। श्रष्टीना करता देवता नही ।। एके वस्तु नही ।। ॐकार आद्यें वाणीवेदमंत्र नही ।। ते कांले एक परमेश्वर हता ।। आद्य विभु हता ।। तो निरंजन निराकार अनादी एक हता ।। ते जागीनें ज्ञानदृष्टें जोयुं ।। विमासी रह्या ।।

This is followed by the geographical description -

पृथ्वी मध्ये एक मेरु पर्वत छे । ते एक लाष जोजन धरती मध्ये छे ।। एक लाष जोजन ऊंचो छे ।। पांच लाष जोजन पोलो छे ।। ते मेरुने विषें सप्तस्वर्ग छे ।। प्रथम स्वर्गे श्रेष्ठी करतां देवता छे ।। बीजें स्वर्गे वर्षा छे ।। त्रीजें स्वर्गे महादेव छे ।। चोथें स्वर्गे देवता छे । तिहां सप्तऋषि छे ।। पांचमे स्वर्गे चंद्रमा वसे छे ।। छठें स्वर्गे देवता वसे छे । सातमे स्वर्गे राजा धर्म वसे ।। चित्रलेहा तिंहा वसे छे । अठोतेरसो विद्याधर देवता वसे छे ।। ते ऊपर आसन छे । तिहां तेत्रीस कोड देवता ।। नवग्रह ।। सतावीस नक्षत्रमाला ।। बारराशि ।। पन्नरतिथि ।। सात वार ।।.....

The Meru mountain is situated in the centre of the earth and it covers 1 lakh *yojana* area. The height of the mountain is also 1 lakh *yojana*. There is a 5 lakh *yojana* space in the middle of the mountain and so on.

Descriptions of the earth, mountain, islands and oceans are given one by one.

पृथ्वीनी पीठ पंचास कोड जोजन छे । ते मध्ये सात कोड समुद्रे रोकी छे ।। पांच कोड पर्वते रोकी छे ।। आठ कोडमां हाथी छे ।। बे कोडमां धरतीबारी छे ।। बे कोडमां अंधारुं छे ।। तेर कोडमां वनस्पति रोकी छे ।। इग्यार कोडमां मनुष्यनी वसती वसे छे ।। ते मध्ये सात द्वीप ने नव खंड छे ।।

The circumference of the earth is 50 crore *yojana*, of which the area of oceans covers 7 crore *yojana*, the mountains cover 5 crore *yojanas*. In the middle of the earth, there are 7 islands and 9 *khaṇḍas*.

The work previously has given only the list of 14 *yugas*, the names of which are not so familiar to us. Here again, it gives a vivid picture of the 4 *yugas* like *Satyayuga, Tretāyuga, Dvāparayuga* and *Kaliyuga*.

1. *Satya*

कारतक सुद ९ ने गुरुवारे सतजुग बेठो ।। १७२८००० सतजुगनुं प्रमाण ।। राजा सुरजवंशी थया ।। तपधर्म ।। अयोध्याधाम ।। पोहकर तीरथ ।। जालंधर पीठ ।। विभु आचार्य ।। नर्मदातीरथ ।।.....एक गुणो दांन ने सप्तगुणो पुण्य ।। सतजुगमध्ये दैत्यवंशी राजा ऊंचा ।।.....ब्राह्मण केहनें जावता नहीं ।। वनस्पति सदाकाले फलती ।।.....पुत्र नाश न पामतो ।। एतले पिता मोर पुत्र मरे नहीं ।। पांच हजार वरसनो बालक कहेवातुं ।। सुवर्णनुं नाणुं चालतुं ।।.....एक वार वावता २१ वार लणता ।।

(a) Total period of the Satyayuga-1728000 *pramāṇa* which starts from *Kārtaka suda* 9, Thursday.

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(b) The king belongs to solar dynasty, details of 32 kings and their queens are given.

(c) The *dharma* followed by common men – penance (*tapaḥ*).

(d) Important Place – Ayodhya.

(e) Important Pilgrimage – Puṣkara.

(f) Important *Pīṭha* – Jalandhara.

(g) Merits of *dānadharma* – donating single time brings the virtue of 7 times.

2. *Tretā*

हवे त्रेताजुग प्रमाण ॥ वैसाष सुद ३ ने सोमवारे त्रेतायुग बेठो ॥ १२९६००० त्रेताजुग प्रमाण ॥ त्रेताजुग मध्ये रघुवंशी राजा थया ॥ आदिराजा कौष ॥ तेनो.....वेण ॥ तेनो ब्रह्मसंघ....॥ तेनो हरिचंद ॥ तेनो रोहिदासा ॥..... एहवा राजा ३२ सूर्यवंशी थया ॥ चौदताडपुरस ऊंचा हता ॥ दस हजार हाथीनुं बल भुंजाइ हतुं ॥ वीस हजार ग्रहण हता ॥ दस हजार वरस मनुस जीवता ॥ बे हजार वरसनुं बालक हतुं ॥ ..... एक गुणो दान ने सहस्र गुणो पुण्य ॥ ..... तिवारे स्वर्गमां आवागमन हतुं ॥ ब्राह्मणने घरे सौ दर्शने जाता ॥.....त्रेताजुगमां नारायण अवतार पांचमो । वामन अवतार कीधो.....एकवार वावता ते चऊद वार लणता ॥ हेमनुं नाणुं ॥.....

(a) Total period of this *yuga* is 1296000 *pramāṇa* starting from *Vaiśākha Suda* 3, Monday.

(b) The king belongs to Rāghava dynasty – The genealogy of this dynasty has been given.

(c) Life line of human beings – 10,000 yrs.

(d) Status of the *Brāhmaṇa* – So high that everyone used to consider the *brāhmaṇas'* fit to be taken *darśana* of.

(e) Virtue of people – Once people sow, they enjoy its fruits fourteen times.

3. *Dvāpara*

हवे द्वापर युगनो प्रमाण ॥ आषाढसुद २ दिने सोमवारे द्वापरयुग बेठो ॥ ८६४००० द्वापरयुगनो प्रमाण कह्यो ॥ द्वापरमां राजा कोंण थया ॥ ब्रह्मा ॥ तेनो मत्रीक ॥ तेनो सोम ॥ तेनो बुध ॥ तेनो पुरुरवा.....अढार हजार ग्रहण हता ॥ एक हजारनुं आनुं हतुं ॥ पचास वरसनुं बालक केहवातुं ॥.....एकवार वावता एकवीस वार लणता ॥ ब्राह्मण समग्र होमवेद भणता ॥ आचार पालता ॥ गाय सवा घडो दूध करती ॥ नदीना नीर वेहता ॥ राजा धर्म चलावता ॥

(a) Total period – 864000 *pramāṇa starting from Āṣāḍha Suda* 2, Monday-

(b) King – Brahmā : names of succeeding kings are given.

(c) Importance of Brahmin – as high as stated in the *Tretāyuga.*

(d) Duties of the Brahmins – They used to study the Vedas regularly and strictly follow the rules and regulations of the society.

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4. *Kali*

एहवा त्रन युग वीता ॥ हवे कलीयुग आव्यो ॥ कसूरकाल केहवास्ये ॥ भादरवाविद अमावास्यानें शुक्रवारे कलियुगनो प्रवेश थयो ॥ ते कलियुग ४३२००० नो प्रमाण कलियुगनो जाणवो ॥ धर्मनो एक पाईयो ॥ एक गुणो दान ने सहस्त्रगुणो पुण्य ॥ गंगा तीरथ ॥ विभु आचार्य ॥ कलियुगमां चऊद राजा हता ॥ प्रथम आद्य ॥ तेनो सालिवाहन.... आगे ब्राह्मण पासे राजाना मंत्र हता ॥ ते शाप देता ते अनुग्रह करता ॥ कलियुगमध्ये ब्राह्मण मंत्रहीन थया ॥ पृथ्वी मंदफल थई ॥.....आहारनो बल ॥ पांच वरसनो बालक कहेवाए ॥.....गाय दूधरहित थई ॥ नदीना नीर पूटां ॥ कुलवंत स्त्री लंपट थई ॥ पुत्रमित्र बंधव ॥ सवारथ लगें संबंध रापे ॥ असंतोषी ब्राह्मण ॥ व्याधि पीडां शरीरे घणी ॥ अल्पमेह ॥ देवालयमां मैथुन ॥ बालक इस्त्री गर्भ धरस्ये ॥ धर्मे असुची ॥ निष्फल वृक्ष ॥ कूडकपट घणुं ॥ अविचारी राजा ॥ पाषंड धर्म चालस्ये ॥ कलियुगमां परमेश्वरनो दसमो अवतार ॥ तेना नाम मुक्त ॥ गंगा तीरथ ॥ आत्मा देवी ॥ धरमज्ञानी घणा ॥ विजया नामे संवसर ॥ गंगाजमुना मध्ये अंत ॥

(a) Total Period – 432000 *pramāṇa* starting from *Bhādra Amāvāsyā*, Friday.

(b) No. of kings – 14 starting from king *Śālivāhana*.

(c) The *Kaliyuga* is known as *Kasurayuga* or the *yuga* of blemishes because -

(1) The *Kṣatriyas* gave up the battle.

(2) The cows became milkless.

(3) The rivers became waterless.

(4) The women became characterless.

(5) The people became selfish.

(6) The brahmins became unsatisfied.

(7) The diseases aggravated.

(8) Rainfall – Scarce.

(9) Copulation in the Temple.

(10.) Girls of small age became pregnant.

(d) Names of pilgrimages-Puri, Patan etc.

A brief account of the *avatāras* in each *yuga* alongwith the names of the sages like Viśvāmitra, Vivāna and their wives has also been furnished in this work. The possibilities of evil doings in the *Kaliyuga* as well as the peculiarities and limitations of each *yuga* are well described in greater details in the *Bhuṅgalapurāṇa*. In the end the list of the *Mahāpurāṇas* is added.

The *Bhuṅgalapurāṇa* is a very rare *Gujarātī* work which can only be compared to the Sanskrit Purāṇa literature. It shows the gradual deterioration of social life from the

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Satyayuga to the *Kaliyuga*. It advises people to follow the moral duties so that they may be benefited by the virtues of the *Satyayuga;* otherwise the evil *tattva* of *Kaliyuga* may spoil their lives.

This is by the way an humble endeavour to bring forth this type of a regional but important work before the scholarly world.

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MANUSCRIPTOLOGY - RETROSPECT & PROSPECTS•

SIDDHARTH Y. WAKANKAR*

Respected President, Fellow Sectional Presidents, Delegates, Budding Scholars/ Researchers and My Dear Students, Ladies and Gentlemen, I deem it a privilege and honour to have been called upon to preside over the deliberations of this Section on Manuscriptology in this, the 41st Session of the "All India Oriental Conference" being held under the auspices of the Shri Jagannath Sanskrit Vishvavidyalaya, Srivihar, Puri. I am grateful to the authorities of the AIOC for offering this opportunity to me. I do believe that this honour is done to me not so much for my personal contributions to this fascinating field, but, due more to the generous urge to recognise and appreciate the Yeoman's services rendered by the Oriental Institute, Baroda, to this and other fields of Indology. It also is a sign of the cognizance of the work put before the scholarly world by this Deputy Director of the Oriental Institute, who happens to be the first person from Baroda/ Gujarat to get this honour. Here I am reminded of a happy co-incidence. The Late Dr. U.P. Shah, the then Deputy Director of the Oriental Institute, Baroda, presided over the deliberations at the 24th Session of the AIOC, way back in October, 1968 at Benaras. After a gap of nearly 34 years, the Deputy Director of the same Oriental Institute has been chosen to preside over a Section being held at Puri. I think this opportunity offered to me is the result of the research work on Manuscripts being carried out by me, of the Oriental Institute and the recognition thereof at the National level. It also is a kind of approval of the effort of this scholar along with many stalwarts like Dr. K.V. Sarma, Dr. B.B. Chaube and others in not only projecting the necessity of creating this Section, but, also dedicatedly working in that direction. I turn to such illustrious predeccessors of mine for inspiration and feel that with your kind help, co-operation and guidance, I shall try to tide over my short-comings and hope that this learned assembly would forgive my drawbacks and extend its whole-hearted support for making our deliberations a real success and everybody will be richer in knowledge during the course of this session. Before I actually embark upon the task of taking a resume of the work done in this Section between May, 2000 and the commencement of this session, let me spell out

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Journal of the Oriental Institute, Vol. 50, Nos. 1-4, Sept.-June 2000-2001 Issue, pp. 333-340.

• Presidential Address, delivered during 14th-16th December, 2002, at the 41st Session of the All-India Oriental Conference, Puri, Orissa.

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the scope of this Section, the difficulties encountered by scholars and the remedies thereof.

What is Manuscriptology : The Manuscripts, Discovery, Collection etc.

Manuscriptology is a Scientific Art or an Artistic Science in the sense that "It is a Scientific and Methodological Approach rather than a haphazard one to study a Text having many Manuscript copies to work with". There is no need to dilate on the importance of manuscripts and their study. It is well known that manuscripts supply missing links of Historical and Cultural importance for the furtherance of our knowledge. Without going into too much of details about the importance of the study of Manuscripts, we may just say that Manuscripts and their study can be traced back to the Vedic times. In fact, the *padapātha* could be said to be the first attempt at critical study of a text. The commentatorial literature also falls under this category. So, we can easily say that the germs of Manuscript-studies could be seen in the very hoary past in India. Manuscripts were stored by Pandits, Saints, Scholars etc. since times immemorial. Even today, there are some families of Pandits who boast of a very rich and varied collection of rare and important manuscripts preserved through generations. All these things are very well-known and need not detain us more. Owing to the foreign aggression in India, a situation arose when manuscripts were secretly kept for preservation and their study received a set back. Though the enlightened kings had scholars in their court who were experts in different fields of learning, during the rule of the foreigners, its study languished. The credit of reviving- in fact, the search for manuscripts- goes to the foreign-scholars who made special efforts in this direction. As is known, Calcutta was the first seat of learning in British India. The credit, however, of making concerted efforts in the direction of unearthing manuscripts goes to the matter of drawing up a scheme for collecting and cataloguing manuscripts by keeping some money at the disposal of Dr. Buhler on the 1st of November for the purchase of Mss. This scheme prepared by Mr. Stokes, the Secretary of the Legislative Council, was approved by the Government of India under their order NO.4338-48, dated 3rd November, 1868. The Bombay Govt. acting under the orders of Govt. of India on the 10th December, 1868, requested Dr. Kielhorn and Dr. Buhler to undertake the search of Mss. in the Bombay Presidency. This continued upto 1881. The next period from 1882 to 1895 is represented by the activities of Sir Dr. R.G. Bhandarkar, the first Indian scholar and Dr. Peterson. The last period represents the acquisitions of Mss. made by Prof. Kathawate from 1895 to 1902, Prof. S.R. Bhandarkar from 1900 to 1915, Prof. K.B. Pathak from 1902 to 1907 & lastly by Prof. V.S. Ghate from 1907 to 1915. In the Eastern region, the Britishers established The Asiatic Society at Calcutta in 1784 A.D., followed by the establishment of the Bombay

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Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society in 1804 in the Western region. These two Institutes contributed a lot towards the collection, preservation and publication of rare works, mainly based on rare and important Mss. In course of time, there was an awakening in all parts of India about the need for uncarthing and publishing Mss. This was ably supported by financial assistance from the princely states of India, esp. of Baroda, Mysore, Travancore and Cochin, Jammu, besides the centres like Govt. Oriental Mss. Library at Madras, established by the British. The keen interest shown by the Westerners in our culture, languages, Mss. etc. mingled with the efforts of the native scholars had created vast avenues for research to such an extent that now we have a separate section dealing with manuscript-studies. Since the institutes working in this direction are well-known, I need not give the details thereof. The preservation of Mss. is also a specialised field, a science that requires meticulous care. There are many institutes in India which are active in not only preserving the Mss. by scientific methods, but by offering short-term courses in the techniques of preservation/conservation/ restoration etc. Some of them are: The Indian National Trust For Art and Cultural Heritage (INTACH), Lucknow; National Archives of India, New Delhi. The Asiatic Society at Calcutta as well as at Bombay have their own preservation laboratories. The National Library at Calcutta also possesses a well-equipped department for the purposes of preservation/ conservation etc.

Next we turn to the point of propagation/furtherance of manuscript-studies, training the younger scholars in acquiring the necessary knowledge of the techniques of editing the manuscripts, bringing out their critical editions etc. In fact, such institutes deal with many aspects of manuscript-studies and are commendably shouldering the responsibility to the best of their capacity. The fore-most among them is the Indira Gandhi National Centre For the Arts, New Delhi, which periodically conducts 21- day workshops on Manuscriptology and Paleography. The present scholar was invited as an expert and a resource person in January, 1995, to conduct one such workshop in Pune. Recently (6th July, 2002), the IGNCA organised a workshop for obtaining the views of experts on the "Discussion Paper on National Mission for Manuscripts", prepared by Dept. of Culture, Govt. of India. The details of the deliberations are awaited. The Bhogilal Laherchand Institute of Indology, New Delhi, also annually conducts such workshops. I was invited in June-July, 2000 as a resource person. The Institute for Asian Studies, Chennai, conducts seminars and workshops with regular intervals. I am grateful to Dr. P. Subramaniam, Head, Dept. of Manuscriptology, for this information. In fact, he has sent detailed information about the activities of this institute. The Chinmaya International Foundation, Veliyanad, Kerala, recently organised one 21-day workshop on Manuscriptology from 20th May to 9th June, 2002, wherein I was invited to conduct this course. One most important aspect of this workshop was the practical work undertaken by the participants in consultation with resource persons like Dr. S.Y. Wakankar

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from Baroda, Dr. Sam and Dr. R. Vasudev Potti of Trivandram and Dr. A Ramaswamy Iyengar, the Director of CIF. The participants were successful in bringing out six monographs on the following topics: 1) Origin and Development of Scripts-Indian Palaeography; 2) Preservation and Cataloguing of Mss. (Indexing); 3) Critical Editions of Texts : Importance and Methodology; 4) Manuscriptology and Computer Application; 5) Bibliography and Data Base- A Survey and 6) Manuscriptology and other areas of knowledge-Inter-disciplinary Overview. The Oriental Research Institute and Manuscripts Library of the Uni. of Kerala at Thiruvananthapuram is the only Institute in India which offers a one-year M.Phil course in Manuscriptology. Dr. P.Visalakshy of Sanskrit and Dr. Sam of the Malayalam studies conduct this course with two of their colleagues. I am thankful to Dr. Visalakshy and Dr. Sam for providing me the details about the syllabus of this course. The Centre of Advanced Study in Sanskrit of the Poona University also conducts one Certificate course and a Diploma course in Manuscriptology of one year duration each. The M.S.U. of Baroda has also introduced a Certificate Course in Manuscriptology with Dr. S.Y.Wakankar as the Course Director. The O.I. in Mysore also conducts one such course in Manuscriptology. It is a matter of great regret that The Asiatic Society at Calcutta- which was the pioneer institute in India in the modern times to start such a two-year course in Manuscriptology under the able stewardship of Dr. A.L. Basham way back in the early eighties of the last century-seems to have become defunct. There are other institutes also which are taking keen interest in regard to the collection, preservation and publication of Manuscripts. Prof. Ramakrishnamacharyulu of the Rashtriya Skt. Vidyapeetha, Tirupati, was kind enough to supply the following details about their activities in this direction. "Vidyapeeth has conducted a Survey about the availability of manuscripts with individuals, it is found that a large no. of Mss. is still available with individuals that are neither entered in any Ms. catalogue nor procured by any Ms. library. The Vidyapeeth has also purchased around 450 Mss. from the grant received from MHRD in these two years, out of which around 275 are in Palm-leaf form. In this collection, there are nearly 100 rare Mss. belonging to *Āgama, Tantra, Śrauta, Nyāya, Vyākaraṇa* etc. All these are purchased from Andhra Pradesh. But the survey revealed that a good number of Mss. is available in other 3 Southern states also. Some people are willing to sell them and some are not. Hence, it is proposed by the Vidyapeeth that all the Mss. which are not entered in any Mss. catalogues and are with private parties, should be listed first to make the list available on the internet. Further, the Vidyapeeth has proposed to take the copies of the Mss. using electronic media, which are with private parties and not willing to sell them. First the holders of the Mss. should be convinced to sell the Mss. and these are to be procured and preserved using modern preservation method. All these collected should be digitalised and preserved on CDs. There is necessity to review the present Mss. catalogues which were published long ago and to

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make a fresh list of Mss. The project was headed by Prof. K.E. Govindan who is a specialist in Manuscriptology and has enough experience in evaluation of the manuscripts." I express my deep sense of gratitude to Prof. Ramakrisnamacharyulu for so kindly furnishing this important information.

Publications based on Mss.

Now, let me turn to the aspect of the publication of books based on Mss. Now a days, there are many scholars who are engaged in the research on Mss. especially, for their M.Phil. dissertation or Ph.D. degree. It is very difficult to get the details from all corners of India, mainly because of two important problems: The first is less sympathetic, casual and non-co-operative attitude of many scholars who have the competence, but, not the will or desire or interest to share their knowledge with other fellow workers in the field. Consequently, they do not answer the letters/reminders, thus hampering the path of progress. If such a trend continues, then, we will be defeating the very purpose for which the sessions of the AIOC are organised. The other reason is the absence of co-ordination amongst the scholars and institutes who are undertaking such kind of research on Mss. Despite advances in modern technology, it is very difficult to get information about all such valuable publications coming from the length and breadth of our land. On this background, it will be impossible to give an exhaustive list of all the publications that were brought out after the last session. I, however, am happy to note that some of my friends were courteous enough to provide me information about their publications based on Mss. One such friend is Prof. Dr. N.V.P. Unithiri, the Head of the Dept. of Sanskrit at the Calicut University. I am grateful to him for this kind gesture. I, hereby, give the details about the publications of the Calicut University Sanskrit Series, which has brought out some very important books based on Mss. since May, 2000, C.U.Skt. Series No.9- *Kumārasambhavam* with *Śiśubodhinīṭikā* of Sarvajñamuni, Ed. by Prof. N.V.P.Unithiri, Jan., 2002 ; No.10-*Raghuvamśam* with *Salakṣaṇa* com. by Sarvajñamuni, Ed. by Prof. Dr. N.V.P. Unithiri, March, 2002; No.11-*A Study of Samudrabandha's com. on Alaṅkārasarvasva*, Ed. by Dr. C.Narayana; No.15 & 16 - *Tantrasaṅgraha* with the *Mantravimarśinī* com. by Svarṇagrāma Vāsudeva; parts-II, Ed. by Dr.N.V.P. Unithiri, Nov., 2002. Now, I turn to my own Oriental Institute and its publication activities. As is very much known, the Oriental Institute completed the Crit. Edition of the *Vālmīki Rāmāyaṇa* and that of the *Viṣṇupurāṇa*. After the release of this Purāṇa, the Institute undertook the project of the Critical Edition of the *Mārkaṇḍeya-purāṇa* which is nearing completion. The work is under the stage of proof-reading and will be published in near future. At present, the staff is engaged in collecting and collating the Mss. of the *Vāyupurāṇa*. On the other hand, our world famous Gaekwad Oriental Series published the following volumes in the period under discussion. 1) *Nāṭyaśāstra* of Bharata with the *Abhinavabhāratī*

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of Abhinavagupta, Critical and Revised Edn. by Prof. Dr.V.M.Kulkarni and Prof. Dr.T.S.Nandi was published in June, 2001. 2) *Sūryaprakāśa* of Sūryadāsa, Ed. by Dr. Pushpa Kumari Jain, GOS No.183, June, 2001. 3) *Priyamvadācaritam* of Bhikudeva, ed. by the Late P.H.Joshi, 4) *Kalandikāprakāśa* of Somanātha Vyāsa, Ed. by the Late Prof. Dr. Babulal Shukla Shastri and 5) *Manuscriptology and Text Criticism* by Shri J.P. Thaker. These three books are ready and waiting to be brought out in near future. In addition to these institutional publications, the other research staff of the institute is actively engaged in critically editing some rare and unpublished important works based on Mss. only. Dr. S.Y. Wakankar, the Deputy Director of the Institute, has been conducting courses/workshops in Manuscriptology, on being invited by different research institutes. His latest publication is: *Literary Gems From Sanskrit Literature* : A Study of Rare Manuscripts, which was published in June, 2002. His other book is: *Ānandakāvya* by Ānanda with Auto-commentary. It is being published serially in the Journal of the Oriental Institute. Another notable work from a scholar from this institute is : *A Bibliography of Palaeography and Manuscriptology* (U.G.C. sponsored minor research project)- compiled and edited by Dr. Sweta Prajapati, a Research Officer from our Institute. This work is also under print and hope it will see the light of the day in near future.

I may conclude this brief survey by pointing out a few difficulties faced by the scholars in procuring the required Mss. for their studies and by suggesting some measures for the organisation of Mss. collections.

Difficulties :

The first and foremost is the apathy of the majority of Sanskrit scholars towards the study of manuscripts, mainly because manuscript-reading requires concentration and sincere urge to study. It involves a lot of patience and trouble, beginning with the decipherment of letters - a really tedious job.

The second reason is the absence of courtesy of even acknowledging the receipt of letters/reminders from scholars/institutes.

The third reason is the lack of facilities to supply either xerox-copies or microfilm negatives possibly due to the lack of funds. At some places, though these facilities are available, there is no qualified staff to handle these machines-thus rendering these machines redundant. In course of time, these go out of order.

The fourth reason is the innocence of the persons handling these collections of Mss. They are either businessmen or non-scholars as far as Sanskrit-Prakrit etc. are concerned, added to that is the fear lurking in their minds that somebody will carry away their Mss. while referring to them in the premises also. It is tantamount to denying a scholar his dues.

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The fifth reason is the rules which do not permit to take the Mss. outside the premises, even for xeroxing/microfilming. Clinging to the word and not the spirit, some institutes just refuse to supply copies of their Mss. and inform the needy scholars to carry their own machinery for getting the copies, which is physically impossible. There are other causes also that can be enumerated. I have, however, listed the major ones only.

Remedial Measures : Suggestions :

The Central Govt. be requested to issue orders to the Directors of Libraries in all the States and Union Territories to arrange to collect information of the existence of libraries in their respective regions that possess Mss. This can be done through the active help from the District Education Officers, impressing upon them the need to preserve this National Heritage.

A Central Advisory or Executive Committee be formed for this purpose. The members should be the interested active scholars from various institutions, who will render their services in this direction.

In the States also, such committees be formed with the Director of Libraries at the helm, assisted by the members representing different libraries/institutes.

The main work of these Committees should be to collect valuable and authentic information about the existence of different Mss. collections in their regions and to report it to the National Committee for doing the needful in the matter.

The National Body should send science-trained personnel to different institutes and libraries for enlightening them on the measures of preservation/conservation of Mss. in the light of modern research/techniques. There should be a meeting of the State Bodies in every quarter of the year and the National Body should meet at least once in six months to try to sort out the problems and decide the next course of action. Efficient handling of these will definitely give rich dividends. Scholars should be invited to deliver talks on the topics connected with Manuscriptology, wherein the main thrust will be on preservation. Seminars at the State and National levels will also contribute their mite in this direction.

I may conclude by suggesting some steps to be taken on the academic level :

(1) At least, one paper of 100 marks be made obligatory for the students of Sanskrit at the M.A. level in all the Universities, so that they will be oriented to this prospective field of Manuscriptology- which not only enables us to know the Missing Links of Historical and Cultural importance, but, also helps us in knowing the forgotten Connecting Links too.

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(2) With this noble idea in mind, younger and budding scholars be encouraged to study Manuscripts and further pursue research on Manuscripts-unknown, little-known and rare.

(3) For this, the Teachers of Sanskrit should motivate their students- by setting their own examples-by impressing upon the minds of the students, the paramount importance of this fascinating discipline- where there is ample scope to unearth some hidden truths by delving deep into the untapped sources.

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PAṆḌITA RAMAṆANĀTHA ŚĀSTRĪ - HIS LIFE AND WORKS (1869 - 1938 A.D.)

B.P. PANDYA*

Introduction :

Regional contribution to the growth of Sanskrit Literature is very important in the history of Sanskrit Literature. Gujarat has contributed significantly in all branches of Sanskrit Literature since early times, and Baroda, the state capital of Gaekwads also known as "*Choṭikāśī*", has its own contribution in "Modern Sanskrit Literature", and in this context, an attempt has been made to evaluate the life and works of Pt. Ramaṇanātha Bholānātha Śāstrī (1869 - 1938 A.D.) in this paper.

Baroda has produced many traditional Paṇḍitas in different *Śāstras* of Sanskrit Literature. Amongst them, Pt. Ramaṇanātha Bholānātha Śāstrī was a distinguished traditional *Paṇḍita* having mastery over many *Śāstrās.*

Life :

Pt. Ramaṇanātha Śāstrī was born on the 8th *tithi* of *Fālguna Kṛṣṇa Pakṣa,* in *Saṁvat* 1925 (i.e. 1869 A.D.) in the learned traditional Pāṭhaka family of Baroda. His father's name was Pt. Bholānātha and mother's was Narmadāben. He had also one brother namely Pt. Kāśīnātha Śāstrī. He had *Vallabha-Vaiṣṇava* tradition in his family from last four generations. His father Pt. Bholānātha Śāstrī, grand father Pt. Jagannātha Śāstrī and great-grand father Pt. Vrajanātha Śāstrī- all were learned traditional Paṇḍitas. Moreover, all were renowned *Bhāgavata Purāṇa Kathākāras,* and scholars in different branches of Sanskrit Literature.

Pt. Ramaṇanātha Śāstrī studied *Nyāya* (i.e. *Navya-nyāya*), Vyākaraṇa, Sāhitya, Mīmāṁsā, Vedānta, Alaṅkāra etc. under the learned traditional *Paṇḍita- Vidvat-Kesarī* Śrī Rājārāma Topare Śāstrī.

Pt. Rajārāma Topare Śāstrī was a co-student of the famous Pt. Sītarāma Śāstrī (Banaras) and Principal of the State Government Sanskrit College at Baroda, (which was then

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Journal of the Oriental Institute, Vol. 50, Nos. 1-4, Sept.-June 2000-2001 Issue, pp. 341-346.

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housed in the present Viṭṭhala Mandira near Mandvi, in the walled city of Baroda). He wrote *Kaṇṭakatrayoddhāra* to refute the views of Pt. Kṛṣṇānanda Sarasvatī of Surat. As this work was challenged by Kṛṣnānanda Sarasvatī, Topare Śāstrī defended his own opposition in another work called *Kaṇṭakatrayoddhārapradīpa.* He was orthodox and resigned his Principalship, when he was forced to teach grammar by the state to a bania boy. Thereafter he used to teach Jain Sādhus at Chhani, a village near Baroda.

Pt. Ramaṇanātha Śāstrī was a devotee of Lord Dvārakādhīśa at his residence at Vādī, Chelli Pole nākā, near Raṇachodjī's Temple. At present, this is situated at Narasihji's pole, Opp. to Śrī Gopālalālajī's temple Baroda. It is having *Śaṅkha, Cakra, Gadā* and *Padma* in four hands, and *Śrīvatsacihna* on the chest. It is made up of black stone. The sight of an idol is very delicate and attractive. It is worshipped in a *Vallabha- Vaiṣṇava Saṁpradāya Sevāpaddhati.*

He was the first *Paṇḍita* in Gujarat who first of all changed the style of *Bhāgavata Kathā,* the way in which it is narrated in present times. Formerly the tradition of the *Bhāgavata Kathā* was in a different way. *Paṇḍitas* were doing *Kāthā,* by telling the story of every *Śloka,* reciting *Śloka* and at the end of the chapter, *Jayaghoṣa* of the God. He left this old tradition and introduced a new style. He started telling the story of the whole chapter, some times the gist only in an interesting and simple language, so that people will listen to it interestingly and attentively. But he was not missing even a single story. He was very cautious about it. This new style was very much appreciated by the people.

He had married four times. The name of the fourth wife was Kamalāben. She was the sister of the father of learned traditional Paṇḍita Śrī Lakṣmīśaṅkara Gaurīśaṅkara Śukla of Baroda. He has translated *Maṇḍapa Kuṇḍasiddhi* in Gujarati. He has composed many *stotras, garabās* (in Sanskrit), written many small dramas, which can be staged. He is a renowned scholar of *Vyākaraṇa, Sāhitya, Alaṅkāra* and *yājñikī.* He has also published a very important book namely *Pratiṣṭhā-mauktikaṁ* in 1992 A.D. giving very exhaustive details and complete *prayoga* about the *Pratiṣṭhā* (installation) of all gods. He has also published *Sahasra-Kalaśābhiṣekapaddhati.*

Pt. Ramaṇanātha Śastrī's only brother Pt. Kāśīnātha Śāstrī, had a premature death at the age of only 18 years. He had one son, namely, Badarīnātha Śāstrī. The responsibility of rearing and educating came on him. He took all types of care in educating Badarīnātha Śāstrī. He taught him *Nyāya, Vyākaraṇa, Sāhitya, Mīmāṁsā, Śuddhādvaita Vedānta* and *Bhāgavata.* Badarīnātha Śāstrī stood, first in *Nyāya-uttamā* - examination of *Śrāvaṇamāsa dakṣiṇā Parīkṣā,* which was started by His Highness of Baroda, the III Sayajirao Gaekwad.

He died on *Mahā Vada Ekādaśī, Saṁvat* 1994, (i.e. 1938 A.D.) at Baroda.

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Published works :

(1) *Candrikā* - Comm. on *Pañcalakṣaṇī*

(2) *Siddhāntaratnamañjūṣā* - on *Dharmaśāstra*

Unpublished works :

(1) *Nyāyabhūṣaṇa* - Comm. on the *Nyāyasūtras* of Gautama

(2) *Brahmasūtravṛtti* - according to *Kevalādvaita*

(3) *Yaduvaṁśa-mahākāvyaṁ* - 8 cantos (incomplete)

(4) *Jagadīśamanoramā* - Comm. on *Jāgadīśī*

Here, a detailed note on his two published works is given for the benefit of scholars and for viewing the great scholarship of the scholar - Pt. Ramaṇanātha Śāstrī.

(1) ***Candrikā*** is a commentary on *Pañcalakṣaṇī,* a famous *Nyāyagrantha.* The title of the *ṭīkā* is *vyāptipañcakajāgadīśīṭīkā.* The whole *ṭīkā* is not printed, but some fragments of this are published (in the "*Sarasvatī-saurabhaṁ*", Vol.II, I, July 1966, pub. by Sanskrit-vidvat-sabhā, Baroda, pp. 16-17). Let us hope that we get the remaining part in future. This fragment starts with the question raised in '*Cintāmaṇi*' by Gaṇeśa 13th Cent. A.D. "व्याप्तिग्रहोपायश्च वक्ष्यते, नन्वनुमितिहेतुव्याप्तिज्ञाने का व्याप्ति ?" He has given the commentaries - the *Dīdhiti* of Raghunātha Śiromaṇi (16th Cent. A.D.) and the Jāgadīśī by Jagadīśa Bhaṭṭācārya (17th Cent. A.D.)

He starts his *ṭīkā* here with the salutation to Kṛṣṇa and Gaṇapati. There the first sentence is, "चार्वाको बौद्धश्च शङ्कते - व्याप्तिग्रहोपायश्च, वक्ष्यत इति पूर्वमुक्तं - 'कर्णे पृष्टे कटिं चालयतीति' न्यायेन व्याप्तिनिरूपणमिदमारब्धमसङ्गतमिति सङ्गत्यप्रदर्शनप्रयुक्ताऽसङ्गतत्त्वज्ञानाधीनोन्मत्तप्रलपितत्वशङ्काधीनोपेक्षारूपा न्यूनता । यत् यत्सङ्गतं तत्तदनन्तरं निरूपणीयं भवति ।" Here he has also discussed the *anumānaprāmāṇyayukti.*

As it is incomplete, we cannot say anything more than this at this moment.

(2) ***Śrīmatī Siddhāntaratnamañjūṣā*** - *Prathamobhāgaḥ,* Pub: Mahendra Press, Vadodara 1916 A.D., Price 00-50 N.P.

Here he has mentioned that this book is सर्वशास्त्रोपयोगिनी, धर्मव्याख्यानकर्त्र्युपयोगिनी च. This text is started with the title *Pūrvamīmāṁsā Khaṇḍa.* Here in the very first para, he mentions the reason of writing this. He says "इदानींतना वैदिका स्वस्वशाखाभिमानिनो विवदन्ते तदर्थानभिज्ञतया, अस्मद्वेद एव प्रशस्ततमो न युष्मद्वेद इति तत्कलहशमनपूर्वक-तत्समाधानरूपप्रयोजनार्थं च, तेषामानन्दपूर्वकं शास्त्रीयविषयेषु रमणार्थं च अयं रमणनाथकृतः समुद्यमः सफल एव ।"

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Then he has discussed *dharma* in detail giving many examples from - *Veda, Upaṇiṣad, Smṛti* like *Manu, Yājñavalkya, Viśvāmitra* etc., *Sāhityaśāstra, Purāṇas* etc. He has also discussed the views of *Vārtikakāra Kumārila Bhaṭṭa, Jaimini, Prabhākara, Bauddhamata, Arhata* etc.

He has also discussed the importance of *Guru, Adhyayana* and *Adhyayanaphalam.* He has given in detail the characteristics of a *guru* and also told that without *guru,* nobody will get the true knowledge. He has quoted examples from *Āpastamba Dharmaśāstra, Bhāgavata, Manusmṛti, Yājñavalkyasmṛti* etc.

He has also narrated the stories of Dhaumya- Ṛṣi and his three disciples Upamanyu, Āruṇi and Veda. He has given a complete *Sūkta* of Aśvinau and has explained each *ṚK* in detail. He cites the examples of Sāndīpani Ṛṣi and Kṛṣṇa and also disciples of Vallabhācārya, who by his grace had a perception of Lord Kṛṣṇa. किञ्च गुरोः कृपया जगन्नियन्ता श्रीकृष्णोऽपि न दुर्लभः । यथा श्रीमद्वल्लभगुरुचरणकमलकृपया श्रीकृष्णोऽपि साक्षात्कृतः शुश्रषापरैः शिष्यवरैः ॥ (p.45). He gives another example also, that by the grace of Śrī Śaṅkarācārya, the spiritual knowledge was displayed in the heart of *Toṭaka.*

He was interested in composing poems also. He has given here a *stotra* of 10 *ślokas* entitled "श्रूयतां गुरुकृपाया गरीयस्त्वे तोटकवृत्तम् ।" Here he has discussed how by the grace of *Guru, Toṭaka* got the true knowledge of Brahma, the supreme reality. The language is also simple and self- explanatory, e.g. वेदप्रणिहितं कर्म धर्मस्तन्मङ्गलं परमिति । धारणाद्धर्ममित्याहुर्धर्मो धारयते प्रजा इति । प्राप्नुवन्ति यतः स्वर्गमोक्षौ धर्मपरायणाः । मानुषा मुनिभिर्नूनं स धर्म इति कथ्यते । धर्मो जगतः प्रतिष्ठा । धर्मे सर्वं प्रतिष्ठितमित्यादिवचनैर्जगत्प्रतिष्ठाकारणं धर्म इत्याख्यायते । etc.

His poetic mind is also seen in the composition of some of his verses. He has given the importance of time (*Kāla*) in a poetic form.

He says : अतोऽध्ययनाय यतितव्यं फलप्राप्तिः कालमन्तरेण न भवति - यथा

कालेन शीघ्राः प्रवहन्ति वाताः
कालेन वृष्टिर्जलादानुपैति ।
कालेन पद्मोत्पलवज्जलं च
कालेन पुष्यन्ति वनेषु वृक्षाः ॥
कालेन कृष्णाय सिताश्च रात्र्यः
कालेन चन्द्रः परिपूर्णबिम्बः ।
नाकालतः पुण्यफलं द्रुमाणां
नाकालवेगाः सरितो वहन्ति ॥ (P.17)

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At one place he says *acārya* is superior to parents. He says

पितृभ्यामप्याचार्यस्य श्रैष्ठ्यमाह-
सूत्रम् ''शरीरमेव मातापितरौ जनयतः'' ।

शीर्यते क्षीयते तच्छरीरं पितरौ जनयतः । आचार्यस्तु सर्वपुरुषार्थक्षमं रूपं जनयतीत्ययं विशेषः 'आचार्यः श्रेष्ठो गुरूणामिति गौतमः । अतो गुरुसेवात्यन्तावश्यिका ।

उक्तं च

यस्य प्रेम गुरौ नास्ति प्रत्यक्षे बोधदायके ।
कथं तस्य भवेत् प्रेम शालिग्रामे शिलामये ॥
शिवे रुष्टे गुरुस्त्राता गुरौ रुष्टे न कश्चन ।
गुरुरेव परब्रह्म तस्मै श्रीगुरवे नमः ॥
यस्य भक्तिर्यथा देवे तथैवेयं गुरौ भवेत् ।
तयैव मुक्तिमायाति नान्योपायोऽस्ति कश्चन ॥

He has also given an example of insulting the *guru,* and what result will be of it. He has quoted an example of *guru* Bṛhaspati who was insulted by Indra. He says ''नापमानं गुरोर्विदध्यादिति । मनुनापि । तत्सेवया च गरीयसी कार्यसिद्धिरुक्ता -

अभिवादनशीलस्य नित्यं वृद्धोपसेविनः ।
चत्वारि तस्य वर्द्धन्ते आयुर्विद्या यशो बलम् ॥

श्रीमत्कृष्णोऽपि सान्दीपनिं गुरुमुज्जयिन्यां तत्सद्मनि वसन् पर्यपूजत् । सर्वज्ञस्य भगवतो न गुरुवेश्मवासापेक्षाऽपि ।''

He also insists that the *guru-dakṣiṇā* also should be given, to *guru* at the end of study. He quotes examples and says, ''गुरुदक्षिणायै स्वस्य गुरुसुतानयनाय संयमिनीगमने सति अर्चयित्वा यमेनाप्युक्तम्- लीलामनुष्य हे विष्णो युवयोः करवाम किमिति ततो यमात्पुत्रमानीय गुरवे जीवद्गुरुपुत्रात्मकदक्षिणा प्रदत्ता तत्प्रयुक्ताश्चाशिषो गृहीताः ताश्च यथा

सम्यक्संपादितो वत्स भवद्भ्यां गुरुनिष्क्रयः ।
को नु युष्मद्विधगुरोः कामानामवशिष्यते ॥
गच्छतं स्वगृहं वीरौ कीर्तिर्वामस्तु पावनी ।
छन्दांस्ययातयामानि भवन्त्विह परत्र चेति ॥''

He has also discussed the *Hariguṇavarṇanamāhātmyam* and also different 30 types of *Dharmas* told by Nārada to Yudhiṣṭhira in the *Mahābhārata* and he has also discussed all

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these 30 types of Dharmas in detail. While discussing *Sevā*, he gives stress on the *sevāprakāra* of *Śuddhādvaita* philosophy of Vallabhācārya. Here we can see that, as he was a follower of Vallabhācārya, he gives emphasis on *Vallabha Vedānta*. He says सेवा - सोक्ता सिद्धान्तमुक्तावल्यां महाप्रभुचरणैः -

कृष्णसेवा सदा कार्या मानसी सा परा मता ।
चेतस्तत्प्रवणं सेवा तत्सिद्ध्यै तनुवित्तजा ।।
ततः संसारदुःखस्य निवृत्तिर्ब्रह्मबोधनम् इति ।

सा च सेवा द्विविधा कृष्णसेवा गुरुसेवा च । सेवयैव कृष्णस्य भक्तेषु बहुधा श्रूयते वात्सल्यम् । गुरोरप्येवं वात्सल्यं शिष्येषु ।

Now after discussing this *gurumahimā*, author has discussed the *gurubhakti*. In this *gurubhaktiviṣaya*, he has composed a small *Campū* entitled "*Abhinavagorakṣa-campū viracyate*". Here in this *Gorakṣacampū*, he has given in detail, the story of the *Matsyendranātha* and Gorakṣanātha of *Nāthasampradāya*.

The contribution of this great but less-known scholar from Baroda deserves to be taken notice of in the History of Modern Sanskrit Literature. Here an attempt is made to throw light upon his varied contribution. The other works of this scholar have still remained unnoticed and unpublished.

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THE DATED MANUSCRIPTS OF ORIENTAL RESEARCH INSTITUTE AND MANUSCRIPTS LIBRARY, THIRUVANANTHAPURAM

P. VISALAKSHY*

The Oriental Research Institute and Manuscripts Library, Thiruvananthapuram, has nearly sixty five thousand manuscripts. The manuscripts of this library cover almost all the subjects. But works on *Jyotiṣa, Vyākaraṇa, Vedānta, Kāvya, Purāṇa, Alaṅkāra, Tantra, Mantra* and *Stotra* are relatively more in number. It is an admitted fact that Sanskrit became part and parcel of all the intellectual endeavours of Kerala at least by seventh century A.D. May be due to that, the vast majority of manuscripts (about 2/3 of the total stock) of this Library is in Sanskrit language. The rest are in other Indian languages and a few in foreign languages like Burmese and Indonesian. Among the non-Sanskrit works, Malayalam manuscripts are more in number and the second position is for Tamil Language.

The present study is based on the published indices of the manuscripts of ORI & Mss. Library. Such Indices are brought out only for Sanskrit, Malayalam and Tamil mss. Here too, it is to be admitted that the published indices are not complete. Alphabetical indices of some more manuscripts are yet to be done. The number of Sanskrit manuscripts as per the published Indices is 35060. The Sanskrit manuscripts are in diffetent scripts like Malayalam, Grantha, Devanāgarī, Nandināgarī, Telugu, Kannada, Bengali, Marathi etc. It is significant to note that the Sanskrit manuscripts in Malayalam script are more in number (19647). The second position is for Grantha script (8088). Sanskrit manuscripts in Devanāgarī script come to the third position (5186). Sanskrit manuscripts in Telugu script occupy the fourth position (968). The fifth and sixth positions are for manuscripts in Nandināgarī and Bengali scripts, their number being 416 and 230 respectively. In addition, some of the Sanskrit manuscripts are in more than one script, the details of which are as follows :

Grantha and Malayalam-61
Grantha and Tamil- 105
Grantha and Telugu- 8
Nandināgarī and Grantha-3
Grantha, Devanāgarī and Telugu- 1
Malayalam and Devanāgarī- 3
Bengali and Devanāgarī- 1
Nandināgarī and Telugu-3
Tamil and Malayalam- 4
Devanāgarī and Roman- 1
Devanāgarī and Tamil-1
Devanāgarī and Telugu- 1
Nandināgarī and Tamil- 1

Journal of the Oriental Institute, Vol. 50, Nos. 1-4, Sept.-June 2000-2001 Issue, pp. 347-352.

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Exempting a few, the Sanskrit manuscripts in scripts like Devanāgarī, Bengali, Marathi etc. are on paper, whereas manuscripts in Grantha, Malayalam, Telugu, Kannada, Nandināgarī etc. are mainly on palm-leaves.

The number of Malayalam manuscripts as per the published Index is 8975. All Malayalam manuscripts except 6 are in Malayalam script. i.e. 5 manuscripts are in Vattezhuttu and the remaining one is in Malayāṇma. A few Kolezhuttu manuscripts are in the stock which are yet to be indexed. It appears that the ORI & MSS. Library is the only place where manuscripts in Vatteznhuttu, Kolezhuttu and Malayāṇma are found. The number of Tamil manuscripts as per the Index is 3341. All of them are in Tamil script. Barring a few manuscripts which are not very old, the writing material of Malayalam and Tamil manuscripts is palm leaf.

The Dated Manuscripts

Large majority of the manuscripts irrespective of the language or script is undated. Out of 35060 Sanskrit manuscripts of the published Indices, only in 1294 the year is recorded. Similarly out of 8975 Malayalam manuscripts of the published Index only 475 are dated. Since Tamil Index does not provide any information on the dates of the manuscripts they are not included here. Thus only Sanskrit and Malayalam manuscripts are taken for the present study.

Among the Sanskrit manuscripts the year is found to be recorded in any one of the following Eras. They are *Kollam* (Malayalam Era), *Vikrama Saṁvat, Śaka* and *Kali*. The following table shows the details of the number of dated manuscripts in the respective eras.

Era	No. of Manuscripts
Kollam	569
Saṁvat	439
Śaka	144
Kali	5
Vikrama Śaka	1
Śaka & Saṁvat	133
Śaka & Vikrama Śaka	2
Śaka & Kollam	1

The three manuscripts in which the name *Vikrama Śaka* is noticed might be an error on the part of the scribe and it might be *Vikrama Saṁvat*. All manuscripts in which *Kollam* Era is recorded are palm-leaf manuscripts. Out of 569 manuscripts where *Kollam* era is found to be recorded, 566 are either in Malayalam script or in Grantha script. The remaining

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three are partly in Tamil and partly in Grantha. The earliest dated Sanskrit manuscript in *Kollam* era is *Sarvānukramaṇīvṛtti-Vedārthadīpikā* (Ms. No. L.702 C, Ml. Pl. *Kollam* 358/A.D.1183). Out of 439 manuscripts in which *Saṁvat* Era is recorded, only three are palm-leaf manuscripts and the rest are paper manuscripts. Similarly out of 133 manuscripts in which both *Saṁvat* and *Śaka* are recorded, only two are in palm-leaves and the rest are in paper. Thus, out of a total of 572 manuscripts on which *Saṁvat* era is recorded, only 5 manuscripts are of palm-leaves and the rest 567 are paper manuscripts. Out of 439 in which *Saṁvat* era alone is marked, Devanāgarī is used in 435 and in another one the script is Bengali. The remaining three manuscripts are in South Indian scripts (one in Grantha and two in Malayalam). The earliest manuscript in the stock of ORI &. Mss. Library recorded in *Saṁvat* Era is the work *Alaṅkārasūtrasandarbha* (Ms.No.9420, DN, Pr, *Saṁvat* 1056/A.D. 999). Next one in antiquity in *Saṁvat* era is *Dravyaguṇaśataślokī* (Ms. No. 9658, DN, Pr, *Saṁvat* 1236/*Śaka* 1101/A.D. 1179).

Among the dated manuscripts, *Śaka* year alone is recorded in 144 manuscripts and in 135 manuscripts both *Śaka* and *Vikrama Saṁvat* are recorded. In two manuscripts, the date is recorded in *Śaka* and *Vikrama Śaka* (*Vikrama Saṁvat*). In another manuscript, the year is noted in *Śaka* and *Kollam*. Thus, totally there exists 280 manuscripts in which year is indicated in *Śaka*. Out of 144 manuscripts where the year is given in *Śaka* alone, in nine manuscripts the script used is either Grantha (5 nos.) or Malayalam (4 nos.). Among these nine manuscripts, eight are palm-leaves and one is paper. Similarly, two manuscripts in which *Śaka* and *Saṁvat* are given and the one manuscript in which *Śaka* and *Kollam* are given are palm-leaf manuscripts. The remaining are paper manuscripts. One of the manuscripts dated in *Śaka* is in Telugu script and the one manuscript in which year is indicated in *Śaka* and *Kollam* eras is written partly in Grantha and partly in Tamil. Out of a total number of nine dated manuscripts in Bengali script, *Śaka* year is given in eight and for the remaining one, the period is indicated in *Saṁvat* era. The oldest dated manuscript in which year is noted in *Śaka* is *Bṛhajjātakavivaraṇam jagaccandrikā* (Ms. No.7715, DN, Pr, *Śaka* 888/A.D. 966). It is to be specially mentioned that this work is the oldest dated manuscript found in the stock of ORI & MSS. library.

There exists only five manuscripts in which the year is given in *Kali* year. Out of these, three are in Grantha script and one each in Malayalam and Devanāgarī. The earliest dated manuscript in *Kalivarṣa* in the stock of this Library is *Paramānandatantra* with *ṭīkā Saubhāgyānandasandoha* (Ms.No.1544, DN, Pr, *Kali* 4129/A.D. 1028).

Malayalam Manuscripts

The number of Malayalam manuscripts as per the published index is 8975. Among them, only 475 are dated and the remaining 8500 are undated. All the dated manuscripts

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except one are in Malayalam script. The date given in all of them is in *Kollam* era. One of the dated manuscripts is in Vattezhuttu and the year marked in it is in *Kollam* Era. The earliest manuscript in Malayalam language in the stock of this Library is *Attiyaramaṭham Granthavari*, (Ms. No. 15880, *Kollam* 551/A.D. 1376). The second in antiquity is *Kuzhikkattillam Granthavari*, (Ms. No. 17865, *Kollam* 644 to 747/A.D. 1469 to 1572). The earliest Malayalam work found in this Library is *Daivāgamam Bhāsa*, (Ms. No. 1703, *Kollam* 696/A.D. 1521).

Many of the undated manuscripts of ORI & MSS. Library appear to be very archaic. It is to be noted that a vast majority of the manuscripts is undated. Even from the limited number of dated manuscripts, it is evident that the ORI & MSS. Library possesses manuscripts for which the dates of origin go back to more than thousand years. A scrutiny of the dated manuscripts of this Library reveals that the most ancient manuscripts in the stock are in Sanskrit language and their script is Devanāgarī. Such manuscripts are found from the last quarter of the 10th century to the middle of the 20th century. They belong to all the successive centuries of the above period. Hence, for researchers in the fields of the developments of both the Devanāgarī script and the Sanskrit language, the manuscripts of ORI, Thiruvananthapuram, are of immense value. It is said that Vattezhuttu, Kolezhuttu and Malayāṇma manuscripts are found only in this Institute. If so, the earliest manuscripts in the above scripts are also of this library. Similarly the statement of Raj Bali Pandey. "No manuscript (palm-leaf) of a date earlier than 15th century A.D is found in the South due to the hot and humid climate of that part of India." (page 70) is to be modified since there are dated palm-leaf manuscripts earlier to this period. Ex(1) *Sarvānukramaṇīvṛtti-Vedārthadīpikā* (Ms.No.L.702 C, A.D. 1183), (2) *Muhūrttapadavī-Varadīpikā* (Ms. No. L. 397, A.D. 1276), (3) *Attiyaramaṭham Granthavari* (Ms. No. 15880, A.D. 1376).

The dated manuscripts in Malayalam script conclusively prove that the origin of Malayalam script was not during Ezhuttacchan's period (16th century) as suggested by many scholars including Burnell and Diringer or late 15th century as suggested by scholars like Shivaganesha Murthy. *Attiyaramaṭham Granthavari* (551 M.E./1376 A.D.) is a clear evidence to prove that the origin of Malayalam script is not during Ezhuttacchan's period but much prior to that. In short, a detailed study on the dated manuscripts may throw further light on many other aspects which are most valuable to Historians, Literary men and also to Palaeographers.

Before concluding, a word of caution is required. Usually, the date one finds in a manuscript, is the period of its scribing. It is applicable for both to the original work and to the text copied from the original. i.e. in a manuscript copy the date given is usually the date of its copying. However, exceptions are possible. The scribe may give the date of the original

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in the copied text also. Thus, for a final word on the dates of manuscripts, additional evidence such as characteristics of the script, language, date of the author, archaic nature of the writing material etc. is required. As already pointed out, the most ancient manuscripts of ORI & Mss. Library are in Devanāgarī script and the present author does not have much knowledge on the characteristics of Devanāgarī script at different periods of time. Hence, for confirming the dates found in the manuscripts, further investigations by the concerned experts will be of great help. It may also be noted that most of these ancient manuscripts are written on paper. The common view is that the use of paper as a writing material became popular in India only during the period of the Muslim rulers. Paper was first manufactured and used by the Chinese during the first or the beginning of the second century A.D. It is possible that the Indians too might have got acquaintance with paper in the early centuries of the Christian Era itself since people of these two countries had close association. However, it is to be noted that under the climatic conditions of India, paper in the normal circumstances cannot survive for a very long period. It is curious to see that in two palm-leaf manuscripts the dates mentioned are *Kollam* 358 (A.D. 1183) and *Kollam* 452 (A.D. 1277) respectively and the script used in them is Malayalam (Appendix Nos. 6 and 7). It is difficult to believe that Malayalam script was in existence during that period. Anyway, it is to be remembered that the present study is exclusively based on the dates noted in the manuscripts.

Most of the ancient manuscripts of ORI whether they are on paper or on palm-leaf are in a dilapidated condition and hence specimens cannot be furnished. However a list of manuscripts of ORI & MSS Library having more than 500 years of anitquity is appended.

APPENDIX

(1) *Bṛhajjātakavivaraṇam-Jagaccandrikā,* Ms. No. 7751, DN, Pr, *Śaka* 888/A.D.967.

(2) *Alaṅkārasūtrasandarbha,* Ms. No. 9420, DN, Pr, *Sam* 1056/A.D. 999.

(3) *Kapardikāpraśna,* Ms. No. 1674, DN, Pr, *Sam* 1082/A.D. 1025.

(4) *Paramānandatantram* with *ṭīkā,* Ms. No. 1544, DN, Pr, *Kali* 4529/A.D. 1028.

(5) *Dravyaguṇaśataślokī,* Ms. No. 9658, DN, Pr, *Sam* 1236/A.D. 1179.

(6) *Sarvānukramaṇīvṛtti,* (*Vedārthadīpikā*), Ms. No. L. 702-C, Mal, PL, M.E. 358/A.D. 1183.

(7) *Muhūrttapadavī-Varadīpikā,* Ms. No. L. 397, Mal, PL, M.E. 451/A.D. 1276.

(8) *Attiyaramaṭham Granthavari,* Ms. No. 15880-A, Mal, PL, M.E. 551/A.D. 1376.

(9) *Ūhagānam,* Ms. No. 1754, DN, Pr, *Sam* 1456/A.D. 1399.

(10) *Ūhagānam,* Ms. No. 1756, DN, Pr, *Sam* 1469/A.D. 1412.

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(11) *Goladīpikā*, Ms. No. 8358-B, Ml Script, PL, *Śaka* 1365/A.D. 1444.

(12) *Gāyatrīvidhāna*, Ms. No. 22936, DN, Pr, *Sam* 1512/A.D. 1455.

(13) *Kuṇḍamaṇḍapaślokāḥ*, Ms. No. 1734, DN, Pr, *Sam* 1516/A.D. 1459.

(14) *Agnicayanapaddhatiḥ*, Ms. No. 5285, DN, Pr, *Sam* 1516/A.D. 1459.

(15) *Nītisāraprapañcikā*, Ms. No. 20296, Mal, PL, M.E. 641/A.D. 1466.

(16) *Sāmavedagānam*, Ms.No. 1755, DN, Pr, *Sam* 1527/A.D. 1470.

(17) *Kuzhikkāṭṭillam Granthavari*, Ms. No. 17865, Mal, PL, M.E.644 to 747/A.D.1469 to 1572.

(18) *Śārṅgadharapaddhatiḥ*, Ms. No. 1801, DN, Pr, *Sam* 1533/A.D. 1476.

(19) *Khaṇḍanakhaṇḍakhādyam*, Ms. No. 2000, DN, Pr, *Sam* 1516/A.D. 1480.

(20) *Navagrahakuṇḍikā*, Ms. No. 22934, DN, Pr, *Sam* 1532/A.D. 1485.

(21) *Prakriyākaumudīvyākhyā*, Ms.No. 2004, DN, Pr, *Sam* 1536/A.D. 1489.

(22) *Navagrahaśānti*, Ms.No. 1650, DN, Pr, *Sam* 1549/A.D. 1492.

(23) *Tārkikarakṣā*, Ms.No. 7166, DN, Pr, *Śaka* 1417/A.D. 1496.

(24) *Mātrālakṣaṇam*, Ms. No. 5185-C, DN, Pr, *Sam* 1558/A.D. 1501.

(25) *Stobhānusambhāra*, Ms. No. 5185-A, DN, Pr, *Sam* 1558/A.D. 1501.

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कायर्देकर वि.रा.: श्रीज्ञानेश्वरी में उल्लिखित सामाजिक एवं आर्थिक जीवन से सम्बन्धित कतिपय पहलू
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OBITUARY

ARUNODAY N. JANI
(1921-2003)

Mm. Prof. Dr. Arunoday Natvarlal Jani

Born on 20th November 1921 in Baroda *Mahāmahopādhyāya* Prof. Dr. Arunoday Natvarlal Jani, was a veteran and versatile indologist of international repute. He left this mortal world on 16th May 2003 at the age of 82.

Prof. Jani belonged to the Trivedi family of the *Mādhyandina* recension of the *Śukla Yajurveda*, living for many generations at Ahmedabad. On being adopted by the affluent Jani family, his father came to live at Vadodara. Prof. Jani inherited from his maternal uncle, the knowledge of Vedic rituals and Tantric modes of worship. Besides his degrees of B.A., M.A., Ph.D. and D.Litt. from the Bombay University, he had also undergone initiation and ample training in traditional lores like *Veda, Tantra, Karmakāṇḍa, Vedānta, Sāhityaśāstra, Dharmaśāstra,* besides thorough knowledge of *Vyākaraṇaśāstra* studied under *Vidyābhāskara* Pandit Manishankar Upadhyaya. He had also obtained degree of *Kāvyatīrtha* from Kolkata and an honorary degree of *Mahāmahopādhyāya* from the Darbhanga Sanskrit University. He had also undergone Diploma Course in German Language and a Certificate Course in French Language from the M.S. University of Baroda. He also studied German Research Method in Germany, at Hamburg University during 1957-58. Prof. G.H. Bhatt and Dr. S.S.Bhave were also his great teachers who imparted to him training in *Vedānta* and Vedic studies respectively. The foreign scholars like Prof. Dr. L. Alsdorf, Dr. George Cardona, Dr. Daniel Smith, Dr. Peter Schreiner etc. were greatly impressed by the scholarship of Prof. Jani. His Ph.D. on the *Naiṣadhīyacarita,* which is supposed to be the *"Vidvadauṣadham"*, was published under M.S. University Research Publication Series. His D.Litt. Thesis on the "*Rasakaumudī*", has been published under the Gaekwad's Oriental Series. His books on the *'Saptaśatī'* and the '*Kālikāpurāṇa*' with Gujarati Translations are the most useful treatises.

Starting his career as a Lecturer in Sanskrit at M.N. College, Visnagar (1947-51), he later on became Senior Lecturer in Sanskrit in the M.S. University (1951-61) and soon rose to the distinguished position of Reader (1961-67) and also of Professor and Head of the Department of Sanskrit (1967-1980). He was simultaneously adorning the post of Director

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of the Oriental Institute during 1975-1981, which he held upto his retirement and after his retirement he was also a U.G.C. Senior Scholar for *Śāstra-Cūḍāmaṇi* at Sanskrit Mahavidyalaya during 1981-1984 and was also Research Professor at the Institute of Vedic and Pauranic Study and Research, Naimisharanya (U.P.) during 1985-86. During his career, he guided more than 14 students for Ph.D. in different Śāstras. He was an excellent Speaker, beloved Teacher and a Tantric with Traditional knowledge of esoteric spells.

He was a fellow of the Alexander von Humboldt Foundation at the Hamburg University (1957-1958). He was reinvited by the same Foundation to visit and meet Professors of Indology in German Universities. In 1984, he also visited Zambia (Africa) for religious discourses. He has to his credit 6 books and more than 100 research papers. He had been working on various academic, social and religious bodies in several capacities. In 1987, he was given President's Prestigious Award, "Certificate of Honour". He was also giving religious discourses on *Nārada- Bhaktisūtras* and other treatises at the Social Organizations of Baroda.

Besides his erudition in various Śāstras, Professor Jani was a very kind, soft-spoken, lighter-toned, good hearted, ever helping, student-loving and thorough gentleman in behaviour.

His sad and sudden demise has made an irretrievable loss to the scholarly world. May God bestow upon him *sadgati*.

M.L. Wadekar

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REVIEWS

***Siri Jasadevasūri Viraiyaṁ Siri Condappahasāmicariyaṁ* : Edited by Rupendra Kumar Pagariya : L.D. Series 122; Published by L.D. Institute of Indology, Ahmedabad-380 009; November 1999; Pages 24+214; Price : Rs.250/-**

This is a *Mahākāvya* composed in Mahārāṣṭrī Prakrit. It is a very nice biography of the eighth *Tīrthaṅkara* of the Jaina religion, viz. Candraprabhasvāmī, comprising 6400 verses divided into 10 *Avasaras*. *Āryā* metre is mostly employed. *Anuṣṭubh* and other metres are also used. Sanskrit and Apabhraṁśa verses are also met with here and there. Language and style are simple and lucid. Descriptions involve many contemporary social and religious situations. Figures of speech and compounds are not rare. They offer special glamour to the lucid language. Idiomatic expressions and *Subhāṣitas* are also spread throughout and adorn the narrative.

Seven past births of the hero viz. Candraprabhasvāmī are depicted.

This Prakrit *Mahākāvya* was composed at Aṇahillapura Pattana during the reign of the great Caulukya King Siddharāja Jayasiṁha in V.S. 1178 i.e. 1122 A.D. by the Jain pontiff Jasadevasūri.

Only one manuscript of the work is available. It is written on palm-leaves and well preserved in the Jesalmer *Jñānabhaṇḍāra*. It is dated V.S. 1217 i.e. 1161 A.D. Thus only 30 years have lapsed between the date of composition and the age of the manuscript which naturally adds to the authenticity of the present volume.

The detailed Table of Contents occupying four long pages gives a very clear idea about the subject matter in its proper sequence. At the end is furnished an alphabetical list of the *Subhāṣitas* covering as many as 21 pages, arranged topic-wise. This also will add to the value of the book. An extensive Introduction in Hindi has cleared several points and given a very clear idea of the contents of the book.

The book is sure to prove useful to the students of medieval narrative literature and culture. We welcome the same whole-heartedly.

'Vareṇyam', 69 Maneesha, J.P. Road,
Vadodara 390 020.

Jayant P. Thaker

Journal of the Oriental Institute, Vol. 50, Nos. 1-4, Sept.-June 2000-2001 Issue, pp. 369-381.

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Vedic Traditions in Kerala **by Dr. E.R. Sreekrishna Sarma; Calicut University Sanskrit Series No.8; Published by Department of Sanskrit, University of Calicut, Calicut, 1999; pp. 20; Price Rs.16/-**

Kerala is known for its contribution to Sanskrit Literature and scholars have tried to focus its contribution. (*Vide* K. Kunjunni Raja (i) The *Contribution of Kerala to Sanskrit Literature*, Madras, 1958, (ii) *Contribution of Kerala to Sanskrit Literature*, S. Venkita Subramonia Iyer, (iii) "Contribution of Kerala to Sanskrit Śāstras", *Proceedings of the International Sanskrit Conference*, Delhi 1972 (Pub. in 1975) (ed. by V. Raghavan), pp.276 ff and pp.282 ff respy). and it is a pleasure to welcome this special monograph on Vedic Studies and Contribution by Dr. Sarma, who delivered the 7th "Prof. M.S. Menon Endowment Lecture". This is published as a monograph which is edited by Prof. C. Rajendran. He rightly observes that this monograph "fulfills a long felt want by presenting necessary information lucidly within a canvas of booklet" (Preface, p.5) and let us hope with him that this would "stimulate further research and study" (*ibid:* p.5) not only in Kerala but also in other parts and states of India.

It is well-known that "Vedic traditions in Kerala have been unique in the sense that they provide for training in oral recitation, training in what is learnt, participation in Vedic rituals and taking up the *Saṁnyāsa*" (p.7). In this lecture Dr. Sarma refers to the centres of such training which are generally temples, Brahmin families' schools etc. He refers to the *Soma-yāgas* (but he is silent about the botanical identification of the Vedic Soma-plant) and ritual-aspect. After discussing the *karmakāṇḍa* he proceeds to discuss the *jñānakāṇḍa* where he refers to some Vedic texts, commentaries and their authors etc., eg. Bhavarātra, Bhavatrāta, *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa*, Ṣaḍguruśiṣya (who is a Keralite) and his commentary on the *Sarvānukramaṇī*, *Śāṅkhāyana Brāhmaṇa* and its commentator Udaya (14th/15th century A.D.) *Nirukta-Śloka-Vārtika*, *Ṛgveda-Paribhāṣā-Vyākhyā-Dīpaprabhā* by Nārāyaṇa Vrlmanigada, etc. It is interesting to note that while discussing Udaya's commentary Dr. Sarma speaks of variant readings and this suggests the need for critical editions of such Vedic texts.

The booklet makes an interesting reading and professor Rajendran deserves our hearty congratulations for publishing this lecture in the form of a booklet and we further hope that many more such publications would appear under his editorship in the years to come.

Vadodara-1

S. G. Kantawala

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Our Eternal Heritage **by Prof. Dr. Uma S. Deshpande; Publ. The M.S. University of Baroda, Vadodara, 2002; pp.i-viii + 1-203; Price : Rs. 248/-**

The work under review consists of twenty research papers, some of which were published in research journals or read at seminars. The learned authoress does not only show the width of her mind, as indicated by the topics ranging from the *Rgveda,* to the present day Sanskrit writers and poets, but also evinces an insight in the spirit of the compositions she deals with. She has shed new and searching light on various aspects of our national heritage, mostly enshrined in Indological literature embodying metaphysical and technical knowledge in the fields of Spiritualism, Psychology, Life Sciences, Civil Engineering, Mathematics, Aesthetics and Fine arts.

Her methodology is objective, analytical and yet comprehensive. Her conclusions are based on the textual evidences employed profusely at appropriate places in her writings.

It is indeed a very significant contribution to the existing corpus of research publications and is sure to be received warmly by all teachers and students of Indology.

11, Vrajadarshan, Nr. Vrajadham Mandir, R. T. Vyas
Manjalpur, Vadodara.

The Afghan Connection **- by P.V. Pathak, Pragna Prakashan, Pen, Dist. Raigad, Maharashtra, 1999; pp.8+88+Illustrations and plates; Price Rs. 100/-**

Present day Afghanistan is under intense turmoil and under the Taliban religious bigots and zealotary control. But in the past this region was closely linked with the pre-historic past of our country i.e. Bhārata. Not only this but pre-partition- Bhārata and Afghanistan constituted cultural unit and were closely linked with each other, both culturally and commercially. This is the region where once Buddhism flourished and probably from here it spread to the west. But these links appear to have severed in the last few years with the change in the socio-political milieu; the zealots and religious bigots like the Talibans have taken over the common man and it seems that they will never keep the people of this region united in peace and achieve prosperity by the modern science and technology as has been observed by the author in his "Last Few Words". He further remarks what will ever unite the different warring factions of the Afghan society ? It could be glorious cultural heritage of

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the pre-Islamic past. And let me tell that this is the objective of the author to write this piece of research in the fashion of giving the bird's-eye-view of the pre-historic past of Afghanistan. Hence this book is under review.

Though a small book of just 88 pages, it is worth reading and very interesting for it shades enough and authentic light on the historio-cultural relations between our country and Afghanistan. This book consists of five chapters and five appendices. They are **chapters-** (1) The Pre-historic Afghanistan (pp.1-12); (2) Antiquities and Symbols (pp.13-25); (3) Roots of the Afghan Nation (pp. 26-41); (4) The lost Kulas of the Yore (pp.42-49) and (5) Purs and the Land of Rgvedic Dasas-Seistan (pp. 50-70). Little more than one page (pp.71-72) gives us the author's "The Last Few Words" in a way of epilogue. **Appendices-** (1) Ṛgvedic Rivers and their Locations in India and Afghanistan (73); (2) List of some Khowari words with Sanskrit Origin (74); (3) Origin of Afghans and Pathans- Myth and Reality (75-77); (4) Village-names in Shahristan District starting with Deh(78-80) and (5) Village-names in main Kangi District starting with Deh (81). At the end 'The list of References' is there which enlists (pp.82-88) nearly seventy six references from the text and research journals. In the book there are twelve illustrations and four plates which help us to understand clearly the points discussed therein. There is also one page devoted for transliteration scheme for the long vowels, nasals, cerebrals and conjunct words as well as abbreviations. Thus this small book gives us the glimpse of a research work coupled with abreasting the readers about the Socio- Cultural-Politico relation between Afghanistan and Bhārata. As observed by the author in the Preface, this book deals mainly with concentrating on the pre-Buddhist past of the Afghan region on the basis of archaeological findings and co-relating the ethno-archaeological evidences with literary sources, for there is need to look afresh at the archaeology and ancient history of Afghanistan in the light of the recent findings.

The first chapter deals with the ancient culture of Afghanistan by tracing back to the Vedic literature and Sindhu-Saraswati cultures and tries to show the commercial activity and the spread of Buddhism by giving examples of closer interaction with the *Bhāratīya Sanskṛti*. Though of late the politico-social instability has prevented the scholars from undertaking long duration excavations at any site of the region, during sixties and seventies archaeologists from Western countries, such as Italian team of archaeologists, the Russian archaeologists, the American archaeologists and several British scholars and diplomats have tried their best to explore and excavate some sites in depth helping us to know archaeological divisions of Seistan, contacts with the Sindhu-Saraswati cultures, fire-cult complex at DAHAN-E-GHULAMAN, Bactrian heritage, cultural heritage from Mundigak, cultural heritage from SHAHR-I-SOKHTA and ancient Afghanistan. Summing up this chapter the

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author states that geographically Afghanistan lies at the centre of two civilizations, namely, the *Bhāratīya* and the Iranian. Both civilizations influenced the cultural ethos of the region. While the eastern and central Afghanistan had closer interactions with *Bhāratīya Sanskṛti,* the western region came under the influence of the Iranian civilisation. Many mythical entities and the historical characters of the Indo-Iranian culture are associated with the land of Afghanistan.

"Antiquities and Symbols" is the theme of second chapter and it gives us the interesting description pertaining to the unicorn animal, the *Gaṇḍabheruṇḍa* symbol, the sacred Humped-Bull, the *Vṛtra*-myth, the head of the Priest king and Lapis Lazuli semi-precious stone as well as other items of trade. Of these he gives the picturesque description of both unicorn animal and *Gaṇḍabheruṇḍa* symbol establishing the connection of Vedic Bhārata with Afghanistan and highlights the cultural unity and the trading activity over the ages between Vedic-Sindhu-Saraswati cultures and Afghanistan. The author concludes thus: The basic philosophical concept of the individual soul and the universal soul represented by *Gaṇḍabheruṇḍa* continued to influence the culture in the southern India; after a few millennia the Afghan artist moulded the silver axe in the north Afghanistan. The Pīpala tree and leaves on the potsherds in the ancient Afghanistan and the Indus culture are part of the Vedic tradition which accorded the sacred status to the Pīpala or Aśvattha.....Although trade and commercial activities continued and sizeable Hindu population continued to work in the areas of administration and commerce till the first half of the twentieth century, the cultural unity was broken after the Islamisation in the medieval period.

The third chapter discusses the most significant problem pertaining to the Roots of the Afghan Nation for Afghanistan as a distinct national identity took root in the last two centuries and visualises the distinct identity of the tribes and clans in the region which dates back to the Vedic and pre-Sindhu-Saraswati period and the author thus concludes: Hence it is a misnomer to trace the roots of the Afghan nation outside, especially to the middle-eastern countries. They were not migrants in their land and were closely connected to the mainland India. The roots of the Afghan nation (thus) can be traced to the ancient culture of the Indian sub-continent. The author further states that the name of the nation itself is rooted in the ancient Indian literature. The celebrated text of *Bṛhatsaṁhitā* by Varāhamihira (6th c. A.D.) refers to the group of people named *Avagāṇa* alongwith Huns and Chinese (11.61) which in the later period turned into *Avagāṇa* and then to Afghan. (Thus) the "Afghan identity is closely associated with the Sanskrit origin.

"The Lost *Kulas* of the Yore" is the central point the author has analysed in the fourth chapter of the book under review. The following points have been taken care of for

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this theme: the region's name as Vāmasthāna, the Bāṣkala recension of the *Ṛgveda*, deities and rituals, linguistic affinity, historical references, linguistic similarity between the Kāfiri language in North Afghanistan and the Saṅskṛta etc. The author in the beginning, asserts that once known as Vāmasthāna, this region was also known locally as Kāfiristāna till a hundred years ago. It was attacked by the rulers of Kabul in 1897, looted, plundered, the people were converted to the Muslim faith and the region was renamed Nūrīstāna. The chief deity worshipped by the tribes in Vāmasthāna was sacrificed for Imra. It was obviously the Vedic Indra. A bull or a goat was sacrificed for Imra. Another god was Moni. The number seven holds great importance for the people of Vāmasthāna. The ancestor worship and the fire-worship was once practised by Kāfirs. No traces of Buddhism in the form of either the *Stūpas*, idol of Buddha or popular deities like Gaṇeśa are reported from this region.

The last chapter discusses the *Purs* and the land of Ṛgvedic *Dāsas* i.e. Seistan. While discussing this theme, the author states that the term *Asura* acquired mythical meaning as demon and were opposed to gods; they were not the *Dāsa* or *Dasyus*. *Dāsas* were the tribes or the social groups..... the *Purs* were no mythological entities. They were concrete terrestrial geographical entities. Based on the geographical evidence the author has proposed the *Purs* were located in Seistan, a province in the southern Afghanistan. Seistan is the corrupt form of Śakasthāna. The author has also discussed the topology of Seistan, especially a series of inland lakes and basins. These lakes are called *Hāmuns*. There are four such *Hāmuns:* the *Hāmuns-I-Puza* to the east of Seistan, *Hāmun-I-Sawari* in the north-east, a *Hāmun* located in the north of Koh-I-Khwajah and the fourth one is *Darya-I-Singi*. The term *Hāmun* is very common in the Iranian languages. *Hāmuns* are land-locked sandy basins. The author has also pointed out the significance of *Bād-I-Sad-O-Bist* and geological erosion, Mound or Butt formation, on the Nature of the Mounds, *Dāhas* or *Dahae* in the Persian lore, the land of *Dāsas/Dahae*, the *Purs* of the *Ṛgveda*, identification of *Purs* and the land of the Ṛgvedic *Dāsas*.

All these chapters are profusely documented and systematically discussed and interpreted. It gives us interesting and thought provoking readings. The author has painstakingly tried his best to transparently put before us the cultural and commercial relations between Afghanistan and pre-Buddhist Bhārata and to make certain points crystal clear, he has obliged us by giving five appendices, many illustrations, few plates and a very exhaustive list of references he has freely used. Certainly a valued addition on the subject.

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Rasesh Jamindar

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Jain Theory of Multiple Facets of Reality and Truth (_Anekāntavāda_) : Ed. by Nagin J. Shah, BLI I Series No.13, Pub. by Motilal Banarsidass Pub. Pvt. Ltd., Delhi & Bhogilal Leherchanda Institute of Indology, Delhi, 2000; pp.xvi+148; Price Rs.200/-

The present volume of the *Jaina Theory of Multiple Facets of Reality and Truth* edited by Dr. Naginbhai J. Shah is very significant work in Jain Logic and Metaphysics. Dr. Shah in the Introduction has pointed out the importance and relevance of the Philosophical principle of Jainism in modern times. There are enlightened articles in the present volume written by Prof. B.K. Matilal, K.C. Bhattacharya, Atsushi Uno, Prof. V.M. Kulkarni, Prof. V.Venkatachalam, Pradeep P. Gokhale, Dr. D.S. Kothari, Dr. L.V. Joshi, Dayananda Bhargava, Bhagachandra Jain and Prof. Ramjee Singh.

Jain Theory of *Anekāntavāda* is both epistemological as well as Ontological. In its epistemological aspect, its view of Truth and Knowledge attempts to reconcile divergent *Nayas* such as universal and particular, transcendent and universal, correspondence and coherence, pragmatic and intrinsic views. At the time, when Jainism arose as *Śramaṇadharma,* divergent views were prevalent regarding truth and reality such as Buddha's view that reality is changing, becoming, impermanent; *Sāṁkhya* view that reality is consciousness and matter is separate reality; *Vedānta* view is that there is Absolute Reality, truth and knowledge; *Nyāya* view that consciousness is the dependent quality of knowledge, it is characteristic of human mind. Jainism attempts to reconcile the so-called opposite views regarding truth and Reality and holds a composite and consolidated metaphysics and logic in its many-sided aspects and multi-dimensional nature of knowledge and Reality.

Knowledge of Omniscience implies the combining of incomplete characters of things and qualities. They are not opposite but complementary and meet together in single Reality. Here the important point is that the nature of Reality is such that it is capable of cohering and adjusting different distinguishable characters of things and beings. Prof. Matilal refers to the negative and positive characters of things and situation in knowledge. The Logic of negation itself makes room for larger affirmation and inclusion of divergence. Prof. Bhattacharya points out the 'distinguishable' quality of thing and Reality. Knowledge is capable of reconciling opposites in Reality.

Ethically and epistemologically, Jains have developed the mental attitude of combining opposite quality of inclusion and reconciliation. The doctrine of *'Saptabhaṅginaya'* or seven judgements regarding the nature of qualities in things and events, shows that it is possible to assert positive and negative judgement in different contexts. It is held by scientists of physical and material reality that space, time, motion and change refer to the constant frame of character where opposite characters attract but they do not diverge. On the contrary, this is the very nature of phenomena. It is held that the metaphysical and epistemological theories

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of Jains are in consonance with the modern physics and quantum mechanical theory conceiving the nature of motion, matter, space and time. The doctrines of *naya, syādvāda, nayābhāsa* point out the partial character of things and dimensions. It is true that the way of speaking, asserting, making judgement refers to opposition but they do not contradict each other. They are contraries but not 'contradictories'. The Law of contradiction points out 'opposites' such as red, blue, yellow, it does not commit itself to 'non-blue', 'non-yellow' and other totally opposite quality and character. The doctrine of *saptabhaṅginaya* refers to positive, negative and opposite quality but not to indefinite, contradictory and totally opposite term in logic.

In modern times, the attitude of harmony, oneness and unity is very much requisite to maintain co-operation among races, people and nations. The principle of non-violence, tolerance, mutuality and complementarity in knowledge are necessary as a method of approach to truth, unity, affection and affirmation in the world. Modern western philosophers such as Karl Jaspers and Sartre endorse the view of encompassive thought. In India, Prof. Dalsukhbhai Malvania, Shri Sukhlalji, Prof. Ramjee Singh and Dr. D.S. Kothari adopt the views of unity of knowledge and comprehension of insight in phenomena. Non-absolutism is not negative but a positive assertion of inclusion of opposite and divergent views.

This work is an important addition to present philosophical works in Jainism and it is very enlightening in its logical, valuational and ontological dimensions. All the essays which are included in the present volume are learned and well explored writings in ancient as well as modern truths. In the present context of celebrating the anniversary of Lord Mahāvīra, the Institute of Indology has well brought out present volume and the essential, immortal contribution of Jain philosophy to the entire world. The renowned thinkers and philosophers have contributed richly to the ancient heritage, the relevance of thought to modern times and added to the subtlety and comprehensive nature of Jain thought.

Yogi Amrut, 24/4, Nutan Bharat Society,
Alkapuri, Vadodara - 390 001.

Harsiddh M. Joshi

The Essentials of Indian Philosophy **by M. Hiriyanna; Pub. by N.P. Jain for Motilal Banarsidass Publishers Private Ltd., 41 U.A. Bungalow Road, Jawahar Nagar, Delhi, 110 007; pp.1-199+201-216; Price : (cloth) Rs. 150/- (Paper) Rs.98/-**

It is really gratifying to have the book *'The Essentials of Indian Philosophy'* from the pen of a veteran philosopher such as Prof. M. Hiriyanna who has already earned great fame

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by means of his earlier scholarly work *'Outlines of Indian Philosophy'*. As noted in the Preface of the present work, his earlier work was meant for providing a handy text-book for students in Indian Universities, while this book which provides a simpler and shorter account of the same subject is written for the general reader. In consonance with the said aim many details from the earlier work are left out. Not only that, there is also variation in the treatment of some topics in the first two chapters dealing with early Indian thought. Again, there are important additions at least in two cases. Buddhism was dealt with in reference to two stages of its growth in the earlier book. But there is a third phase of it, representing the doctrine as it was originally taught by Buddha; and its brief resume as reconstructed by scholars in recent years, also finds a place in this book. In the same way the account of the Vedānta has been amplified by the inclusion of the *Dvaita* system of it.

The Vedic hymns are rightly described as chants or prayers addressed to deified powers of nature like fire, wind and the sun, and the relatively more imposing details as pointed out are Varuṇa and Indra who in the words of one of the *mantras,* are "the two monarchs that support all living beings." Their distinctive features are unswerving adherence to high principle and eagerness to protect the devotees by vanquishing their enemies in battle respectively. A corollary drawn by the author is quite pertinent as found on p.13. 'Since the gods are the powerful rulers of the universe, man must be devoted to them; and, since they are not merely powerful but are also righteous-minded, he must lead a morally pure life.'

The observation noted on p.14 viz. 'the thought of the earlier hymns is seen in this (Brāhmaṇa) period to develop on three lines; monotheism, monism and ritualism,' is quite correct.

It is rightly observed on p.19 that 'there are great, almost insurmountable, difficulties in deciding what exactly is the teaching of the Upaniṣads in certain important respects', and that 'the prevailing view in them is monistic and absolutistic'. It is nicely pointed out on p.21 that the sayings "*Tat tvam asi*" and '*Aham Brahma asmi*', mean that the principle underlying the world as a whole, and that which forms the essence of man, are ultimately the same.

The emerging of two great gods viz. 'Rudra-Śiva and Viṣṇu in later Vedic period is nicely put forth on pp.33-35. The development of the concept of *Dharma* from that of *Ṛta* is shown on p.37.

It is nicely shown that the law of *Karma* is essentially ethical (p.48) and that the theory of transmigration is a necessary corollary to the doctrine of *Karma* (p.47). Every deed done leads to a double result. It not only produces what may be termed its direct result (*phala*) but

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it also establishes in one a tendency (*saṁskāra*) to repeat the same deed in the future (p.49).

On p.51, it is shown that none of the Indian systems is finally pessimistic and that the view that they are mostly "gospels of woe" is entirely wrong.

On p.52, it is put forth that the path of "*Niṣkāma Karmayoga*" as taught by the *Bhagavadgītā* elevates the ideals of asceticism and activity by combining both of them thus. Consequently asceticism thereby becomes much more than self-denial and activity is freed from all egoistic motives.

On p.61, it is stated that in Hinduism it is accepted that it is God who allots rewards and punishments to all beings according to their *Karma*. The Jains who do not believe in a Supreme God, declare that *Karma* operates by itself. Here is an example of belief in the all-sufficient character of *Karma*. In this belief, it strangely bears a likeness to the Vedic doctrine of Mīmāṁsā.

According to Jainism as surely as there is a subject that knows, so surely there is an object that is known. For this reason, the doctrine is described as realistic. It is also pluralistic, since it believes in the manifoldness of both spirit and matter (p.63). *Kevalajñāna* according to Jainism is knowledge direct and immediate. It is knowledge in its pristine form. It may be described as intuition, comprehending, as it does all things and all phases of them (p.63).

The author has given salient features of growth of Jainism (pp.60-70) and of Buddhism (pp.70-77) from Hinduism and has provided a very nice comparative study of the three religions.

As stated on p.83, "the *Hīnayāna* scheme is virtually the same as in cononical Buddhism. But the *Mahāyāna* form of it has modified it profoundly in two important respects. The person that succeeds in acquiring enlightenment is expected to work for the good of his fellow men, instead of remaining satisfied with his own *nirvāṇa*. Such a person is called a *Bodhisattva* (literally, "wisdom-being"). This ideal far excels the other one of the *Arhan* who is concerned chiefly with salvation for himself. Secondly, while the *Hīnayāna* was atheistic and looked upon Buddha as essentially a human being, though divinely gifted, the *Mahāyāna* Buddhism gradually came to deify him and adopted devout worship of him as a means to salvation."

In the chapter on Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika (pp.84-105), the learned author has provided interesting comparative study of the two systems of Indian philosophy, stating their certain peculiarities in comparison with the other systems especially Jainism and Buddhism.

In the chapter on Sāṅkhya-Yoga (pp.106-128) a very penetrating study of the two systems is found along with their comparative study with Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika and other systems.

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According to the Sāṅkhya system the realization of the ultimate reality takes place through knowledge, while according to the Yoga system it takes place by means of steady and persistent meditation. Regarding the explanation of the origin of the physical world, the Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika derives it from simple innumerable atoms which is called the theory of origination (*Ārambhavāda*), while the Sāṅkhya-Yoga derives it from a single complex all-pervasive substance viz. *Prakṛti,* which is called the theory of evolution (*Pariṇāmavāda*). The Sāṅkhya system bases its conclusions on reason (p.108). What prevents the doctrine from being a philosophy of nature, pure and simple, is its recognition of *Puruṣa* by the side of *Prakṛti. Prakṛti* leaves out the very element by virtue of which we become aware of the existence of the physical world. It is that element of awareness of principle of sentience which *Puruṣa* represents. It preserves to the end the dualism of *Prakṛti* and *Puruṣa* (pp.113-114). Nature evolves for the sake of *Puruṣa.* The meaning of the word *yoga* in this system is quite opposite to that of it in the Upaniṣads wherein it means 'to join or merge' into the absolute self by means of *yoga.* In Yoga system it means 'disunion' (through extrication from *Prakṛti*)(p.122).

The author has displayed penetrating insight into the study of *Pūrva-Mīmāṁsā* by comparing and contrasting the system with other systems viz. the Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika, Sāṅkhya-Yoga, Vedānta and also with Buddhism and Jainism (pp.109-150).

The author has shown great critical acumen as regards comparative evaluation of the Vedānta Absolutistics by noting down its salient features in comparison with other systems of Philosophy (pp.151-174). As put forth on p.159- "In this view then, *Brahman,* though it is the ground of the entire realm of causes and effects, transcends that realm; and the principle of causation does not accordingly apply to it. This view of causation is known as *vivarta-vāda* or "the doctrine of false transformation or of apparent change".

The last chapter entitled "Vedānta: Theistic" presents a critical study of two *Vaiṣṇava* sects that amalgamated the theistic creeds with the Upaniṣadic doctrine viz. the *Viśiṣṭādvaita* of Rāmānuja and the *Dvaita* of Madhva. The meaning of *Viśiṣṭādvaita* rendered as "qualified monism" is erroneous according to the author. According to him it is the qualified or the embodied that is one, while the factors qualifying or embodying it are quite distinct, though inseparable, from it (p.178). According to the *Viśiṣṭādvaita* theory *Prakṛti* is not the same as, but is the substrate of the three *guṇas* and the relation between *Prakṛti* and its evolutes or modes is *apṛthak-siddhi,* for, so long as they exist, they are inseparable from it (p.180). Like *Prakṛti, Jīva* is coeval with God but not identical with him. It is looked upon as God's "body" in as much as God is immanent in, acts upon and guides it from inside (p.181). The *Jīvas* are intrinsically happy but transmigrate and are subject to suffering, as a result of their past *karma* (p.181). According to Rāmānuja since experience is our sole guide in determining

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the nature of reality, it is wrong to postulate anything which is altogether featureless. According to Rāmānuja, what the *Śruti* means by *neti, neti* is that there is no evil feature whatsoever in *Brahman* and not that it has no qualities at all (p.183). As pointed out on p.188, the *Dvaita* resembles the Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika, but it also differs from that doctrine vitally in certain details, e.g. the tracing of the physical world to a single source, *Prakṛti,* instead of to an indefinite number of atoms (p.86), and the resting of its belief in God not on reason (p.90), but on revelation. Moreover, according to *Dvaita,* everything is unique, and it is this very uniqueness that constitutes its difference from other things (p.189). *Bheda* or difference is five-fold (p.190). Further that is taken to be independent here which can, of its own accord, be known and act. Such an entity is God alone. Everything else exists, knows and functions finally at his will. Nor does difference in the case of God imply that he stands outside the universe as a mere spectator. He is immanent in it and controls it from inside (p.190). It is on this basis of God's complete supremacy or, on the basis of not numerical but teleological unity that the *Dvaita* sometimes explains Upaniṣadic statements of monistic import like - "All this, indeed, is *Brahman"* (*Sarvam khalvidam Brahma*)(p.190).

As noted on p.190- "in the recognition of "difference" as a final fact lies the distinction of the present doctrine not only from Śaṅkara's *Advaita* but also from all forms of monism."

For persons entertaining a keen desire for acquiring knowledge of the bare outline of the systems of Indian Philosophy, this book would prove a precious gift.

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B.N. Bhatt

***Vedic Śākhās* by Dr. Ganga Sagar Rai; Ratna Publications, Kamachha, Varanasi, 1990; pp.1-144; Price Rs.100/-**

The monograph, *Vedic Śākhās* by Dr. Ganga Sagar Rai, is a collection of articles on the above topic, published in the successive issues of the *"Purāṇa"* - the Journal of the All India Kashiraj Trust. H.H. Kashi Naresh Maharaja Dr. Vibhuti Narain Singhji, the Chairman of the trust, desired and encouraged the contribution of the articles devoted mainly to the Pauranic Studies which form the main activity of the trust. The author of the book, Dr. Ganga Sagar Rai of the All India Kashiraj Trust, has taken pains in collecting the data of the Vedic *Śākhās,* most of them are now lost but are enumerated in the Purāṇas, and also from other ancient sources regarding these *Śākhās* of our four Vedas.

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The book has six sections, namely, Introduction, Chapters (Six in number), Conclusion, Appendix, Select Bibliography and Index.

In the Introduction of the book, the author gives the meaning of *Śākhā*, causes for the origin of different *Śākhās*, extinction of Vedic *Śākhās*, injuctions for adherence to one's own *Śākhā*, in short-everything about *Śākhā* that a *Jijñāsu*, would intend to know. While explaining the meaning of *Śākhā*, the author quotes Mahādeva, the commentator of the *Hiraṇyakeśī-sūtra*, who "observes that any portion of *svādhyāya*, consisting of *Mantra* and *Brāhmaṇa*, is called *Śākhā* and any difference in either the *Mantras* or the *Brāhamaṇa* will lead in the Veda to a difference in subordinate *Śākhās*." (p.3-4). Many of the *Śākhās* mentioned in the Purāṇas and other treatises have disappeared in the course of time due to the negligence towards the tradition of those *Śākhās*.

Among the six chapters, the first five deal with the *Śākhās* of four Vedas (chapter two and three are about the *Śākhās* of *Śukla Yajurveda* and *Kṛṣṇa Yajurveda* respectively). For the *Ṛgvedī-Śākhā*, the universally accepted nos. are 21 (most of which are lost) and the author has described about 13 of them with their divisions and sub-divisions. The *Yajurvedī-Śākhā* has 101 nos. of its *Śākhās* referred here and there of which 15 of the *Śukla Yajurveda* (the author mentions all 15 of them) and 86 of *Kṛṣṇa Yajurveda* (43 of them are mentioned in this book). The *Sāmaveda* had 1000 *Śākhās* as referred to in various books, the author is able to trace out 32 of them. The *Atharvaveda* had 8 *Śākhās* to its credit and all of them are mentioned in this book.

In the sixth chapter, the author has done the creditable job of churning out the names of 24 *Śākhās* whose relation to a particular Veda could not be traced but there are numerous references to them in Vedic-books.

The conclusion part throws light on the importance of Vedic *Śākhās*. The author rightly says that "the study of Vedic *Śākhās* is important not only from the ritualistic point of view, but, also from the historical, geographical, cultural and linguistic point of view." (p.95).

The Appendix part is equally important as the author has quoted portions from different Purāṇas where they deal with Vedic *Śakhās*.

The book '*Vedic Śākhās*' can enrich everybody's knowledge of Vedic literature. Dr. Ganga Sagar Rai deserves congratulations from all the Veda-lovers for throwing light on the little-known and forgotten aspects of Vedic *Śākhās* in an impressive manner.

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

1. **चित्रकाव्यम्** : by U.V.E. Sundapalayam; Pubd. by K. Samath, 3, Kathic Flats, 27, Nallappar Street, Mylapore, Chennai-600 004; pp. 1 to 169; Price : Not Printed.

2. **काव्यप्रकाशीय सुधासागर टीका समीक्षा : समीक्षात्मक अध्ययन** : by Sujnankumar Mahanti; Pubd. by Lokbhasha Prachar Samiti, Sarasvati Vihar Barapuda, Bhudrak, Odisha-756 113, pp..., Price : Rs.150/-.

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4. ***Re-construction of Śaṅkha-Likhita Smṛti*** : by A.D. Thakar; Pubd. by Bharatiya Kala Prakashan, 3421-A, IInd Floor, Narang Colony, Delhi-110 035; pp. xv+317; Price : Rs.550/-

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9. ***Reflections on Creative Writing*** : by W.K. Lele; Pubd. by Ravindra Kulkarni, Mansanman Prakashan, 4/40 Chandra Prakash, Off : Karve Road, Pune-411 004; pp.viii + 232; Price : Rs. 240/- US $ 10=00.

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Statement about the ownership and other particulars about newspapers

JOURNAL OF THE ORIENTAL INSTITUTE

(To be published in the first issue every year after the last day of February)

FORM IV

(See Rule 8)

1.	*Place of the Publication :*	Oriental Institute, M. S. University of Baroda, Vadodara-390 001.
2.	*Periodicity of its Publication :*	Three Months – September, December, March and June
3.	*Printer's Name :* *(Whether citizen of India ?)* *(If foreigner, state the country of origin)* *Address :*	Prof. M. L. Wadekar Yes Shri Ram Complex, Pade Shastri Nivas, Mangal Bazar, Vadodara - 390 001.
4.	*Publisher's Name :* *(Whether citizen of India ?)* *(If foreigner, state the country of origin)* *Address :*	Prof. M. L. Wadekar Yes Shri Ram Complex, Pade Shastri Nivas, Mangal Bazar, Vadodara - 390 001.
5.	*Editor's Name :* *(Whether citizen of India ?)* *(If foreigner, state the country of origin)* *Address :*	Prof. M. L. Wadekar Yes Shri Ram Complex, Pade Shastri Nivas, Mangal Bazar, Vadodara - 390 001.
6.	*Names & Addresses of Individuals who own the newspaper and partners or shareholders holding more than one percent of the total capital*	The M. S. University of Baroda, Vadodara-390 002.

I, M. L. Wadekar hereby declare that the particulars given above are true to the best of my knowledge and belief.

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Introduction

It is a well -known fact that the Culture or the Civilization of a Nation reflects in its Literature. In fact, the Literature is the Mirror of the society. The aspirations of a people, its development, its attitude towards life etc. get expressed through its writings. The Literature, however, is the standard stick with which the depth and height of nations is measured. That is the reason why special efforts were made in the past to retrieve the literature or so to say the literary compositions which seemed to have been lost. In foreign lands, such searches for unearthing the literature, especially, the Biblical literature, were undertaken and successfully carried to fruition .Consequently, in India also, some foreign scholars did this kind of spadework, after they realised the importance of the Sanskrit Language and the literature couched in it.

In British Rule, some scholars were specially deputed to search for Manuscripts. Dr. G. Buhler undertook such Tours in Search of Manuscripts and prepared his detailed Reports about the findings. In one of his Tours to Kashmir, Rajasthan and Central India during 1875-76 AD, he could lay his hands on some poems which were written by Kashmirian scholars or authors of uncertain date. One such important and rare work is the present one, viz. *Ānandakāvya* with his own commentary by Ānanda himself. The Ms. of this work is deposited in the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute , Pune, with its No. 108 of 1875-1876, BORI, D. Vol. XIII. Part I, No. 31.

DESCRIPTION OF THE MS:

The *Ānandakāvya* exists only in one Manuscript and is at the BORI. Its physical description could be given as under: Extent: 49 folios, 10-11 lines per page and 45-46 letters per line in the section of the commentary. The Ms. is a good example of *Tripāṭha*-writing with the Text in the middle and the commentary thereon is written above and below the Text. The characters are *Devanāgarī* of the Kashmiri-style, the hand writing being quite legible, clear and uniform, but, at times , the overwriting poses problems in properly deciphering the letters. The xerox-copy of this rare ms. was provided to me by my friend,

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Dr. S.N. Bhavsar of Pune, for which I am extremely grateful to him. It is very difficult to say any thing definite about the age of the Ms., as no mention either of the date of composition or the date of the completion of the commentary is to be found in the ms. since it is incomplete and abruptly ends on folio 49a in the middle. The ms., thus, is incomplete and at one place, viz. f. 46b, the entire matter on f. 46a is repeated verbatim. and hence , the continuity of the portion after *Mṛdukomala.* etc. is broken/lost. Therefore, the exposition is not complete, as the original folio must have been lost or misplaced and the f. 47a starts abruptly with the word....*nākākhyam.*It means that the scribe did not get the original intact, hence, the commentaty starts in the middle, Moreover, the present Ms. seems to be a copy of some other Ms. which is now lost-as the last line on f. 49a would suggest *Ataḥparam yathaivāvataritam tathaivāntarbhūtam.*This clearly suggests that our Ms. is copied from some other source which might have been complete, containing all the 66 verses, as the author specifically mentions this number in the very beginning of this work in the words: *Atiramaṇīyam sulalitapadam sadguṇālaṅkārarityanusyūtam nītipracuram ṣaṭṣaṣṭiślokani-baddham bālasuvijñeyam kāvyam racayatyānandanāmā kaviḥ.*

Our Ms. contains only 63 verses (including the many interpretations of the same main verse) and abruptly ends on f. 49a in the third interpretation of the 17th main verse. Since this is the only Ms. available, it is not possible to compare it with any other Ms. Hence, at many places, there are lacunae which could not be filled in, despite our best efforts.

THE GENRE OF THIS POETICAL COMPOSITION :

Formerly, every student of Sanskrit was supposed to have good grounding in Sanskrit Grammar, since, it was the key to the language. In course of time, the importance or so to say the influence of Skt. Grammar grew to such an (undesirable) extent that many scholars/ poets thought that they could compose in Sanskrit by bending it as they felt fit for their purposes. Consequently, some poems were so much rendered complicated and difficult for a layman to

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grasp that they could be understood only by the expert scholars, thus, paving the way for the sayings like, *Naiṣadham vidvadauṣadham.* In such type of poems, the poetical charm started gradually diminishing and such compositions culminating into verbal jugglery, requiring critical acumen even to understand-leave aside-relish the poetic piece. Such trend continued for a long time. Thus, we come across many compositions which have many meanings as per the interpretative capacity of the scholar/composer. Such *kāvyas* came to termed as *Dvisandhānakāvya, Dvyarthikāvya, Trisandhānakāvya* etc. in accordance with the number of meanings which could be extracted from the verses. In line with this, some poets composed *kāvyas* in a style known as *Vilomakāvya* or *Gatāgatakāvya*-wherein, the same words offer different meanings if read from right to left. The most glaring instance of this type of poetical composition is the *Rāmakṛṣṇavilomakāvyam* by Sūrya Kavi. Such *kāvyas* could be understood only if they are endowed with a commentary, In due course, such kind of poetry became a fashion with scholars/poets to parade their erudition, at the cost of the relishability of the poetic piece. Incidentally, such poems became just a craze of the scholar, relegating them to the position of a *citrakāvya*-wherein, the reader had to ransack his brain to clearly understand the poetry first and then relish its taste, if any. This trend, however, fortunately did not last long and there are very few instances of such poetry and because of their terse nature, they naturally went into oblivion and consequently, neglected by majority of readers. In course of time, a search for them also did not yield much good results and only occasionally, such poems were found or traced. The present *Ānandakāvya* is also a poem of that kind and is available in only one manuscript, now at BORI. The main intention to bring this poem to the light of the scholars is to draw their attention to this very rare work wherein the deep and all-compassing scholarship of the author/poet is reflected.

POEM PROPER:

The *Ānandakāvya* by Ānanda is a very small didactic poem containing 66 verses, capable of being interpretated in many ways, as is shown by the author himself in his own commentary on it. The first verse is a *Namanaśloka* and the real work starts with the second verse.

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The second verse: *Sumitrātmajasuprīto*.....is interpreted in two ways.

The third verse: *Abhūddāśarathaḥ*.....has three interpretations.

The fourth verse: *Śalyahāryarjuna*.....admits of three meanings.

The firth verse: *Riṣṭakṛdbhārata*.....admits of three meanings.

The sixth verse: *Guṇavṛddhikṛto*.....is interpreted in four ways.

The seventh verse: *Sasthānakaraṇam*...has four different meanings.

The eighth verse: *Uccanīca*.....offers five interpretations.

The ninth verse: *Paranityāntaraṅga*.....offers four meanings.

The tenth verse: *Parātpadāṅgabha*.....has five meanings.

The eleventh verse: *Saṁsthāpya sat*.....has three meanings .

The twelth verse: *Sa sarvarmaṅgalo* ..... has been given the most important position with the highest number, i.e. seven, of interpretations.

The thirteenth verse: *Gotroddhārakṛt*....etc. has three meanings.

The fourteenth verse: *Rādhānurakta*.....is interpreted in six ways.

The fifteenth verse: *Sāmbopāsana*.....has been interpreted in three ways.

The sixteenth verse: *Yaśodāvacana*.....has three meanings.

The seventeenth verse: *Śṛṇvannatho*.....has only two meanings.

The eighteenth verse: *Caladyantram*.....is interpreted in only three different ways and in the middle itself, the Ms. breaks off depriving us of the remaining portion of the work. It is, therefore, very much difficult to say anything about the exact number of Main verses in the entire Text of the poem. If we do not consider the *Namanaśloka* as a part of the whole poem, then, we get only seventeen verses which have been interpreted in such a way that the total number of verses comes (i.e. should come) to sixty-six, the total number of verses, of

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which the original poem is supposed to consist. Actually, we get the Ms. upto verses 63 only and the remaining portion of the work is now lost to us as the present Ms. breaks off abruptly, during the exposition of the 63rd verse (including interpretations). Unless the remaining portion of the Ms. is retrieved, it is very much difficult to say about exact number of the Main verses or the interpretative verses.

THE AUTHOR: HIS DATE AND SCHOLARSHIP:

Ānanda, the author/poet as well as the commentator of the *Ānandakāvya,* does not get any mention in any of the books on History of Sanskrit Literature neither in any books on Contribution of Kashmir to Sanskrit Literature. Hence, it is very difficult to make any definite statement about his exact time. It is sure that he did belong to Kashmir and must have flourished between the 17th & 18th Century. The only Ms. of his only work was found out or traced during the Tour in 1875-76, and is not too old also. In the absence of any type of information about him or his other details such as names of the parents, his *Gurus* etc....it is almost impossible to arrive at any definite conclusion about his possible date etc. One thing certain about him is that he was from Kashmir and as mark of his respect for the scholars from his area, we may mention the fact that he profusely quotes passages from one Jagaddhara (Paṇḍita) of Kashmir (c.1350-1400 AD), also known as Bhaṭṭa Jagaddhara-who was an outstanding scholar of Grammar, not only Pāṇinian, but, other schools like Kātantra etc. This could be the only internal evidence, besides the fact that the only Ms. of this work was found in Kashmir to accept that he was a Kashmiri scholar/poet. When we try to gauge his scholarship in different sciences/branches of learning, we are struck with the wide range of his intellect. He seems to be well-versed in *Vyākaraṇa,* the backbone of sound scholarship. He is equally good at Etymology, Mythology, *Dharmaśātra,* Lexicography etc. as is very clear from the various quotations from different kinds of literary sources. His forte in traditional lores seems to be *Vyākaraṇa.* In fact, while offering many interpretations of the same verse-the first three being applicable to Rāma, Kṛṣṇa and Vāsava or Indra invariably, followed by Pāṇini, Karṇa etc. subsequently, his mastery over Grammar and

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Etymology speaks volumes for him. The sixth *śloka* offers him ample scope to show his deep knowledge of Grammar, Phonetics etc. Other *ślokas* give him sufficient opportunity to exhibit his thorough knowledge of our Puranik Mythology, episodes from the *Rāmāyaṇa, Mahābhārata,* many Dictionaries like *Amara, Haima, Nānārthakośa* etc. It would not be any exaggeration if we say that the *Ānandakāvya* is a very small, but, important poem, which furnishes a fund of information about our culture, religion, mythology and advances in different sciences like Grammar , Etymology, Lexicography, Phonetics etc. etc. The only distracting or discouraging fact about this poem is that it has, as it were sacrificed the Poetic relish at the Altar of Scientific or Pedantic expertise. It seems that he had vowed to follow in the footsteps of *Śleṣa-kāvya* expert poets like Dhanañjaya (1123-1140 AD-the author of *Rāghavapāṇḍavīya* in 18 *sargas*), Cidambara (1586-1614 AD- the author of *Kathātrayī* alias *Rāghava-pāṇḍava-yādavīyakāvya* in 3 *sargas*), again Cidambara(the author or *Pañcakalyāṇacampū* in two *stabakas*, where the story of the marriage of Rāma, Kṛṣṇa-Viṣṇu, Śiva and Subrahmaṇya is narrated). Meghavijayagaṇi (1671 AD-the author of *Saptasandhānakāvya* in nine *sargas*, describing the lives of Ṛṣabhanātha, Śāntinātha, Pārśvanātha, Neminātha, Mahāvīra, Rāma and Kṛṣṇa.

We must , however, admit the fact that Ānanda has been very much successful in his intellectual endeavour, though, we have to make a special effort to understand his composition , equipped as we must be with the various branches of learning for getting a feel of it.

I conclude this short introduction by referring to some of the difficulties which I had to undergo while editing this work. The quotations in the commentary are not always correct, many times, the author depends on his memory, without verifying the facts, and gives the name of the work, which sometimes turns out to be much different, posing a big problem of actually tracing the references. Secondly, he just quotes the verses/passages without naming either the authority or the work from where it is taken-thus, again, making our task of tracing difficult. Despite this, I have tried my best to trace as many quotations as I could with the help of whatever books/ editions I could

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get here in my Library. Still, many are left untraced. Ms Saswati Sen & Mr. Milind Joshi, my colleagues helped me in locating some references for which I thank them. Still , many quotations are left untraced for which I crave the indulgence of the scholars and beseech them to kindly extend their wholehearted help to me to trace these quotations.

Before concluding, I would like to place on record my sincere sense of gratitude to two scholars from my Institute. The late Shri P. H. Joshi, the seniormost Research Officer from my Institute and Prof. Dr. M.L. Wadekar, the Officiating Director of my Institute, for giving the benefit of their scholarship and experience at all the stages of the editing of this very rare work. Without their whole-hearted co-operation, the work would not have seen the light of the day. I would also like to thank Shri P.N. Srivastav, the Manager of the M.S. University Press and his ever-ready and co-operative staff for doing a nice job.

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Regd. N0. 15007/57

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Edited and Published by **Prof. Dr. Mukund Lalji Wadekar,** *Offg. Director,* Oriental Institute, on behalf of the Maharaja Sayajirao University of Baroda, Vadodara - 390 001, (India). Printed by **Shri P.N.Srivastava,** *Manager,* The Maharaja Sayajirao University of Baroda Press (Sadhana Press), Near Palace Gate, Palace Road, Vadodara - 390 001. Issued - April, 2004.